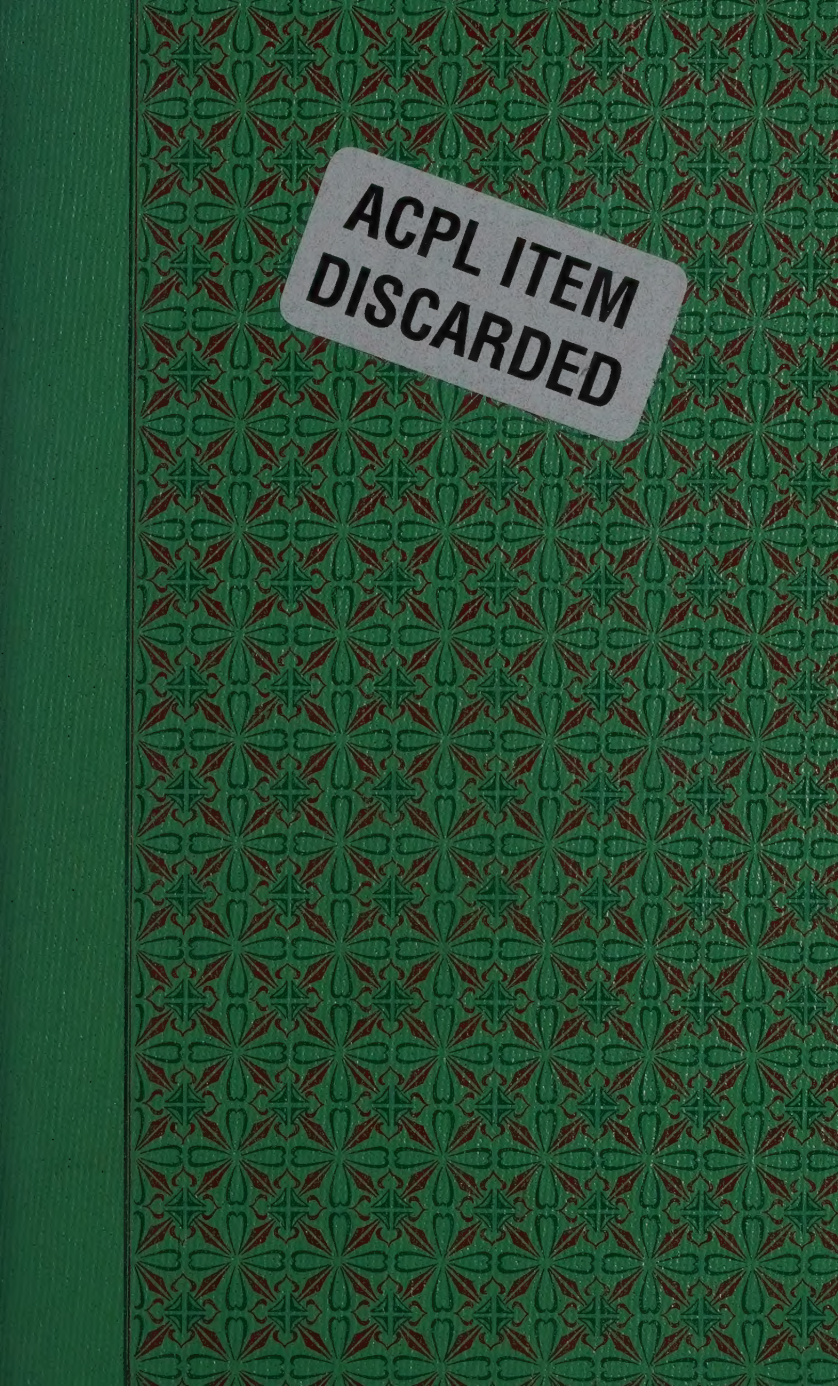


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NOTES ON THE
HISTORY OF THE JESUITS.

NOTES
ON
THE HISTORY OF THE JESUITS
BETWEEN 1540 & 1773.

BY
GEORGE H. TRAGETT.

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P R E F A C E .

DURING a desultory course of reading, I was struck with the singular history of the Order of Jesus ; the extraordinary character of its Founder and early members ; its rapid progress and sudden dissolution, after having attained to great influence in almost every portion of the globe.

The notes originally taken, merely for amusement, gradually accumulated by the discovery of fresh facts ; and the increasing interest of the subject itself led me on, until I ventured to hope that, though crude and scanty, compared with the volumes that have been devoted to it, they might prove interesting to some who have not sufficient leisure for perusing voluminous authors. I have, therefore, while adhering to the form of Notes, endeavoured to connect them in such a manner as to afford a slight sketch of the rise, progress

and downfall of that once celebrated Order. To accomplish this, I have considered :—

- I. Their Founder and the first six Generals.
- II. Their Progress in Europe.
- III. Their Foreign Missions.
- IV. Their Corrupt Doctrines.
- V. Their gradual Decline and Fall.

I have abstracted, as an Appendix, some of the more remarkable portions of their lengthy Constitutions ; hoping that, by this arrangement, the reader would be enabled to see at a glance the general character and progress of the Society, without being burdened with any great amount of detail.

In conclusion, I beg to express my gratitude to the Dean and Chapter of Chichester for the privilege afforded me of using their valuable Library.

Vicars' Close, Chichester,
March, 1865.

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IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

THE very birth of one destined to perform so striking a part in the drama of his age, took place in a manner singularly suited to his after history.

In the year 1491, his mother, wife of a wealthy Hidalgo in Guipuscoa, province of Biscay, having borne ten children to her husband in the ordinary manner, determined that this, her youngest, should, in pious remembrance of the Blessed Virgin, be brought forth in a stable adjoining the castle. The education of Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde did not, however, coincide with the scene of his first moments. The court of Ferdinand the Catholic, renowned for its chivalric bravery, refined manners, and a combination of extreme luxury with the strictest observance of the outward ceremonies of religion, initiated the future Chief of the Company of Jesus into the habits of this world. He here yielded to all the allurements of gaiety and courtly dissipation, yet not without deep aspirations after some mode of life more worthy of his talents and more consonant with that ideal standard of virtue which already was cherished in his heart.

In 1531, while manfully fulfilling the duties of his military profession, in defending the citadel of Pampeluna against the forces of Francis I., his leg was shattered by a cannon shot, and, having been attended by the surgeon

attached to the French camp, he was sent home to the castle of Loyola by the generous victor. Here, during his slow recovery, he endeavoured, by devouring the romances of chivalry, to alleviate the intense agonies occasioned by repeated attempts to straighten his wounded limb. These being soon exhausted, the spirit-stirring legends of saints and martyrs succeeded, and took a firm hold on his mind, more especially the narratives of SS. Dominic and Francis d'Assisi; and as he contrasted the frail nature and fleeting beauty for which the knights-errant so valiantly contended, with the spotless purity of the Madonna, transported with the new ideal presented to him, and, as he hoped, chosen by herself in an ecstatic vision, he rose from his bed of pain, a professed soldier of the *Virgo Deipara*.

It may be doubted whether he would so soon have renounced his life of pleasure, had not his wound, despite the miraculous interposition of St. Peter claimed for him in after years, left him for life a cripple, fit no more for the whirling swoop of a squadron, or the graceful motions of the dance. However that may be, he lost no time in setting out as a poor pilgrim to our Lady of Mountserrat, and it is curious at this period to note the first adventure he met with. A very delicate theological dispute touching the Virgin, into which he entered with an unbelieving Moor of Grenada, having taken a hostile turn, the swarthy Pagan fled from his fury. The Spanish cavalier hotly pursued to four cross roads, where he left to his faithful mule to decide whether he should pursue the fugitive or continue his course to Mountserrat; the peaceful animal decided on the latter, and the enthusiast resumed his original path.

At Manroza, near Mountserrat, he practised self-discipline in its most exaggerated form, daily washing the ulcers of the meanest beggars and clothing himself in the vilest

rags. But his naturally refined disposition, or, as he deemed it, the immediate suggestion of Satan, representing this to him as a defilement of the body unnecessary to spiritual purity, he fled to an obscure cave in the forest, and there strove, by every species of asceticism, scourgings, fasts and vigils, to subdue the rebellious spirit which saw no loveliness in the diseased beggar, nor holiness in the guise of dirt. Here, as happened to our own Dunstan in his cell at Glastonbury,* with a body weakened by fasting and penance, and a mind corroded with nightly horrors, the reason of the anchorite tottered on her throne and nearly yielded to the unfair strain to which she was so ruthlessly subjected.

But Ignatius Loyola was reserved for a more noble destiny than the childish insanity of an Indian Fakir. His friends, after repeated efforts, persuaded him to resume those moderate services of religion in which he had formerly shared. Soon the eventful moment came, and the self-tortured recluse of the cavern changed at once to the Founder of a future mighty Order. While celebrating the office of the Virgin on the steps of a Dominican Church, he suddenly perceived the orb of the southern sky rolling aside before him, and the Divine TRINITY seated in the midst of a glorious company of angels, urging him onwards to the commencement of his sacred work.

After this manifestation of the Divine favour, in which, most probably, he firmly believed, the next step taken by the accepted of Heaven was the compilation, or more probably, the rough conception of his famous Spiritual Exercises, forming a plan of probation during which the newly admitted into an order not yet established, should be awakened to the enormity of his past sins, consoled by perusal of Holy Scripture, and gradually brought, during a

* Vide *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* by Dean Hook, vol. I., p. 391.

period of thirty days, to the state of sacred fervor which should fit him to become a professed brother and fellow-worker. Than this remarkable plan of conversion, as it may be termed, though composed at so early a period of life, embracing as it did, all characters of men and every circumstance of society, no other work affords a more distinct analysis of human nature.

During the next nine years it would be unnecessary, and perhaps impossible, truthfully to follow the travels of Ignatius Loyola through Palestine and Syria, France, Germany, Italy and England; sometimes under the disguise of poverty, at others no less changed by associating freely with the nobly bred; now suffering the horrors of shipwreck or the pangs of hunger, and again undergoing the protracted miseries of loathsome disease, while for some time* mind and body languished in the dungeons of the Holy Inquisition of Salamanca.

After having revelled in the spiritual associations poured out all over the Holy Land, after having reflected more and suffered more than almost any man of the age, Ignatius applied himself, from 1528 to 1535, to the drudgery of commencing his hitherto neglected education, choosing for that purpose the University of Paris, then (it was the time of Crichton the Admirable)† esteemed the chief seat of learning in the world. Here, at the college of St. Barbara, he met with the first members of his future band. Peter Faber of Savoy, brought up amidst the lovely scenery of that mountain-shadowed land, essentially a rustic, and early imbued with a love of the Invisible, as revealed in His earthly creatures, became an easy convert to the earnest counsels of

* Bayle (*Dict. Criticale et Historique*) says two years.

† For an account of the times of Henri III. and the customs of the University of Paris, the reader may consult, with amusement, Harrison Ainsworth's *Crichton*.

Ignatius. But Francis Xavier, a noble gentleman of Navarre, accustomed from his childhood to the splendour of palaces, was a harder conquest: he, however, yielded at length; for few could withstand the solemn words of richest, deepest tone, supported by that countenance so imperial and majestic that most, if not all the books issued by the Order had it imprinted on the title-page. Ignatius taught him to perceive how poor and profitless upon earth is the career of the most mighty conqueror, compared with that of a rescuer of mankind from the penalty of unrepented sin

Truly, the fact of that narrow cell in which these three master spirits toiled, prayed, and planned the future greatness of their Order, while their bodies were deprived of warmth and even of the necessary food, during a winter more intense than had been known for ages, is hardly to be paralleled in the history of monastic buildings.

In 1536, the small band* commenced their progress to Venice, where they were all admitted to the priesthood, and then proceeded to Rome, attracting public attention, as they passed through town and hamlet, by their ragged appearance and untiring exhortations to repentance. It was not, however, until the year 1540 that Paul III.,† having long hesitated between his desire to oppose the enthusiasm of the new society to the dangerous encroachments of Luther and

* The ten original members were:—"Our beloved sons Ignatius de Loyola, Peter Le Fevre and James Laynez, also Claudius Le Jay, Paschasius Broet and Francis Xavier, as also Alphonso Salmeron, Simon Rodriguez, John Coduri and Nicholas de Bobadilla." *Bull for the Institution of Soc. Jes.*, by Paul III., 1540.

† Alexander Farnese, afterwards Paul III., born 1468, was educated in the famous Garden of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and, from his earliest years, aspired to the tiara, which he sought by maintaining, while Cardinal, the strictest neutrality on all political questions. In 1534 he became Pope, and applied himself earnestly to the Reformation of the Church; he was a man of the most sumptuous habits and elegant taste, and founded that glorious Farnese Palace, so well known to all English travellers; he possessed vast erudition, which, combined with a lively imagination, rendered him most fascinating in private life. *Ranke's Hist. Popes.*, p. 63.

Melancthon, and his dread of founding a species of spiritual Prætorians who might eventually usurp the authority they purposed to uphold, assented to the Bull Regimini; and the Order of Jesus were fully committed to their mighty enterprise. Hé could not resist the power given to the Papal supremacy by the fourth vow added to the usual three, by which each professed member was sworn to proceed without murmur to whatever portion of the civilized or savage world the Vicar of CHRIST should please to ordain.

Ignatius, unanimously elected Grand Master, began laying the foundation of a theocracy, which, like the stern Hildebrand of old, he hoped would include, in one vast communion, the inhabitants of London, Vienna, Constantinople and Pekin. The chief corner stone of the gigantic spiritual temple was Obedience, instant and unqualified.

THE GOVERNING POWER.

First:—A General, elected for life, by a small body of the most illustrious members: of middle age, as able to appreciate the prejudices of the old and enter into the passions and temptations of the young: of a constitution calculated to sustain the burdens and cope with the anxieties inseparable from his weighty office: gifted with intellect and self-forgetting piety, to insure the ready obedience of those committed to his care: and, lastly, of such rank in society and dignity of person, as should inspire the outer world with a due respect for his lofty position. From him, as from the King, in Blackstone's Commentaries, flowed the sole fountain of honour, and none were to accept office, spiritual or secular, save from him alone; while at his absolute disposal were the treasure of the Order and the property of the humblest member.

The second division of rule, was the establishment of five Provincial Governors, who divided the Christian world, each represented at head-quarters by an assistant, who formed the Privy Council of the Supreme Chief, and through whom, by the elaborate chain of reports monthly transmitted from each rector of a college, or governor of a professed house, the General was enabled to see at a glance the condition of each branch of his society and the proceedings of every court and people throughout the world.

The qualifications of the professed Jesuit were, health, intellect, piety, and an attractive personal appearance; none were admitted from any other order, or fettered by social or legal ties. It was soon, however, found that these essentials were possessed by very few; and, as the object of the founder was, by means of a large number of adherents in every quarter, to acquire dominion over minds of every nature and country, two more classes were added. These were; first, scholars trained up under the original members; and secondly, a body of spiritual coadjutors, expressly trained to the education of youth, priests like the former, but not bound by the vow of travel, as being constantly employed at home, recruiting the ranks of the modern Templars.

The body thus constituted was bound by rules, which, though strict, differed in many important respects from those of the followers of Benedict and St. Francis d'Assisi. The Jesuit was to be in the world, but not of it. No family affection or love of worldly pursuits must engross the mind of the professed Jesuit: he must, heart, body and soul, be free for the purposes of his calling. His inmost thoughts could not belong to him; they must be poured out in confession to his immediate superior. No other grade than that which he possessed must he aspire to, and if perchance he could neither read nor write, he must not, (I speak of the second

class), acquire these advantages without express permission. To preach the truth, instruct the young, and alternately to listen to the confessions of others, and pour out their own to their chiefs, were the duties of all the members; and that they might have full time for these lofty calls, they were bound by no ties of religious observance, nor any prescribed forms of austerity; still less by any peculiar dress or outward badge of subjection: but the energies of each individual were left unshackled for the service of his cause.

In 1556, Ignatius Loyola, having for eleven years presided over his cherished scheme, which had made more progress than he could reasonably have imagined, yielded to that fate which must come alike on those who have done nothing to rescue their names from oblivion, and on those whose lofty actions are indelibly printed in the annals of mankind. It is curious to reflect that Ignatius, on his death-bed, partly owing to his implicit obedience to the commands of his surgeon, so characteristic of his nature, should have received neither of those last rites of religion to which the Romish Church has ever attached so much importance, and which he himself so sincerely respected. The coffin which contained his honoured body, and in which the eye that had flashed on so many varied scenes of strife, lay closed in its last long sleep, was followed to the church by a mighty crowd of sincere admirers; while his tomb, on which was written these touching words "Whoever thou art, who hast pictured to thyself Cæsar, Pompey or Alexander, open thine eyes to the truth and confess how much greater than they all was Ignatius Loyola," received the homage of the greatest thinkers of the day.

FRANCIS XAVIER.

AFTER Ignatius Loyola, the greatest name in the annals of the society is Francis Xavier. Born 1515, amid the glorious scenery of the Pyrenees, the young scion of a poor but noble house early pictured to himself scenes of future military glory ; but being, by the advice of an elder sister who predicted, as they report, his future marvellous career, sent to study at Paris, the master-mind of Ignatius, with which he was brought in contact, gradually achieved so complete a mastery over his livelier nature, that, revenging himself, according to the barbarous theology of the day, on those limbs whose elegance had so often been the admiration of the ladies of a Court, by encircling them with cords, bound so tight that the flesh absolutely grew over them, he headed the march to Venice.

In 1540, Ignatius, according to his followers, expressly enlightened from above, selected Xavier for the Indian Mission, and truly a better choice could never have been made. Welcoming danger and despising pain, the zealous propagator of the Gospel gladly abandoned every family and patriotic affection and set sail for Goa. From thence he was attracted by the misery of the pearl divers of Manaar, then, as now, some of the most wretched people on the face of the Eastern world ; and while preaching CHRIST crucified, improved both their spiritual and worldly condition, rescuing them at once from the chains of ignorance and the burden of an oppressive tribute to the Governor of Goa.

Onwards unceasingly wandered the self-devoted missionary ; now relieving the distressed brethren at Cape Comorin, and again, like a noble cavalier of Spain, fighting in the ranks of the bravest and repelling the invaders of his colony at Travancore. From thence he passed to Malacca, only pausing at Maliapore, to undergo at the Shrine of St. Thomas of India those ecstasies of religious insanity which seem to have been inseparable from the monastic character. Here, however, the Spanish colonists planted by the daring Alphonso Albuquerque rejected his holy advances ; and threatening them with the vengeance of heaven, he turned to Amboyna, a Portuguese settlement, then invaded by Spanish buccaneers, suffering from the worst forms of plague.

Here, then, Xavier, true to his heavenly calling, alternately preached to the terror-stricken natives on the shore, and the heaven-afflicted pirates on the sea. But when, partly owing to his earnest exhortations and noble self-exposure, the Spanish force departed, Xavier stayed not for the gratitude of the race he had protected, but pursuing his toil in the scattered isles of the Indian Archipelago, unfolded the mysteries of religion to untutored heathen, while the very altar at which he officiated trembled with the shock of an earthquake, and streams of lava encircled the priest and his awe-struck hearers.

Again he retraced his steps to Malacca ; and, always arriving at the time of some national danger, in this instance took a half-military, half-priestly part in the defence of that city against the Mohammedan Chief of Sumatra ; at one time heading a sortie from the harbour, at another, raising aloft the crucifix, like the hands of Moses of old, he predicted the utter downfall of the Paynim horde, which shortly after took place.

Leaving, as before, the blessings of the multitude to be

poured out in his absence, he returned to Goa, determined to convert to the true religion of CHRIST, the Japanese, who had only been known to Europeans about four years. Journeying thither in a pirate ship, manned by idolaters who celebrated their odious services before his sorrowing eyes, and beset with so many perils of sea and tempest that one safe passage out of four was all the most sanguine expected, early in 1549 he arrived and found a debased Christianity introduced by traders, who mingled in unlovely confusion vile superstitions of heathen idols with distorted legends of the Virgin and her Son. Still, even here, though surrounded by enough sin and ignorance to have taken the remainder of his life to overcome, the impatience of this extraordinary man could not suffer him to linger. He was not designed by nature to complete what he began: his motto was "*amplius, amplius!*" and his zeal for conversion was well matched by his passion for travel. Through deserts which would have deterred any other by their extent and dangers, and through cities which absolutely refused him the simplest offices of humanity, he took his weary course. The remote kingdom of Bungo was attempted, and a more extraordinary contest than ensued between Xavier and the great doctor of the Bonzes or native priests, Fucarondono, has probably never been conducted by any polemical enthusiast. The clear-headed Japanese exposed many of the Roman errors, especially the masses for the dead; and had not Xavier been able to prove that they held the same opinion when they buried their relatives with bills of exchange payable in Hades, it is doubtful whether the European would have gained the day. However, it ended, as all these things did, (if one can accept the Jesuitical account,) in priests and kings embracing the faith and the great Father Francis becoming supreme ruler of their hearts.

But from this wondrous success in a nearly unknown land, the perils of the Church at Goa recalled the Missionaries, after a residence of three years. Miraculous was the very voyage homewards of the Holy Cross and her companion bark; for Xavier journeyed on board both ships, though separated by many a mile of boiling ocean. During this marvellous voyage, Xavier and Penreza the Commodore pledged themselves to the conversion of the Celestial Empire; and after strengthening the faithful at Goa, embarked for the dim shore of China, so soon to witness the last hours of this noble pioneer of CHRIST.

Here, after many futile attempts, hindered more by the cupidity of the Portuguese authorities, who were jealous of the Commodore, than even by the natural brutality of the Mandarins, having dared much and suffered much, but effected little, the consuming fire of a Chinese fever came upon him as he was departing on an errand of peace to Siam; and the body which was ever ready to labour for the needy or the diseased, and the spirit ever ready to console those oppressed by shame and guilt, passed away in fearful agony—the one hereafter to be buried in the gorgeous Cathedral of Goa; the other at once to that Judgment Seat, before which the thoughts as well as the actions of all will be carefully and mercifully weighed.

Xavier died before the friend of his youth and the director of his active life, so he never wielded the almost superhuman power of the General's office. Perhaps he would not have borne out, as supreme chief, the glorious character he acquired as the Prince of Missionaries.

Neither Ignatius nor Xavier were men of great learning. The one ruled by his vast energy, majestic manners, and innate perception of human nature; the other by his gentle conduct, self-denying courage, and humble piety; the one

commanded where the other entreated. Sternness and sublimity of purpose won for the first, what example and touching eloquence acquired for the other. Xavier grew as a friend upon the minds of men; Ignatius conquered at once and reduced his followers to a state of most humble and unqualified submission.*

IAGO LAYNEZ.

IAGO LAYNEZ, one of Loyola's original pupils, commenced the second Generalship at a period when Paul IV. had determined to resist the progress of a society which seemed likely to become too powerful for his control; in this he was assisted by the Jesuit Bobadilla, a rival of Laynez. The Pope insisted that, like other religious bodies, they should be bound to perform daily the complicated services of the Romish Church, which would soon have reduced them to the dormant condition of other monks; and, in the second place, he ordained that their Generals should be henceforth chosen for periods of less than three years, which would have made them wholly tributaries of the Papal See, and destroyed that independence and self-government to which their founder had trusted for his society's rapid extension.

* "Xavier was wont to kneel when he wrote to him, to implore the Divine aid through the merits of his 'holy father Ignatius,' and to consider his autograph as a holy relic." Stephens' *Eccles. Biog.*

But soon after Laynez had sworn to obey these hard conditions, Paul died, and the Jesuits, following some one of their theories of mental reservation, carefully adhered to their original statutes, and Laynez continued in office. He distinguished himself at the Council of Trent, 1545,* by advocating the previously forbidden doctrine, that marriage, in consequence of its Divine Institution, might be validly contracted under especial circumstances without the intervention of the clergy.† Cast in a very different mould from the preceding mighty champions of the faith, wanting alike the fiery energy of Ignatius, and Xavier's simple purity of mind, he had yet peculiar advantages of his own, especially an eloquence of no common order. Not exalted in conception, but faultless in expression, thoroughly conversant with modern and ancient literature, he drew from the thoughts of others what his great master had sought for in the depths of his own marvellous mind.

LayneZ has been charged with ambition and duplicity; the latter caused by constitutional timidity. As regards the first charge, it is certain that he refused the Cardinal's purple at a time when he could have had no hopes of succeeding Ignatius. Of the second charge there is too much reason to suppose him guilty; and, in fact, from his time dates the habit of equivocation and mental reservation which so disgraced the Order. One fearful crime, however, with which he has been identified, owing to his intimate connection with Catherine de Medicis, there is no proof that he either contemplated, advised, or approved; though certainly his doctrines delivered at Poissy were sufficiently Machiavellian in their tendency to allow of great latitude in

* This remarkable Council began in 1545, concluded 1563.

† It is curious enough that during a similar debate a few years ago in our own Parliament, this opinion of the Council was cited as a very strong argument for its orthodox nature.

the modes of either subjugating a rebellious party, or removing an obnoxious individual.

Early in 1565, Laynez died, and Don Francis Borgia, kinsman of Charles V., and lineally descended from Alexander VI. and Cæsar Borgia, heir at that time to the historic dukedom of Gandia, was elected his successor in the General's office.

FRANCIS BORGIA.

HE too, like Ignatius Loyola, began life in the glittering splendour of the Spanish Court, not, however, as an obscure Noble, but a near kinsman of Monarchs, Popes and Princes ; and, as a cavalier *sans peur et sans reproche*, offered the hard-won honours of tournament and bull-fight to the approving eyes of the fair Eleanor de Castro, who early in life became his devoted spouse. That holy state of matrimony which Ignatius forbade himself to contemplate and Xavier does not seem ever to have approached, was so singularly blessed in the case of Francis Borgia, the father of many smiling children, owner of a princely fortune, and bearing a high reputation for military virtues and polished acquirements, that one can hardly imagine how it could have been, that when only twenty-nine, he bound himself, if he outlived Eleanor, to devote the remainder of his days to the service of God in some lonely abbey. In order to understand this curious condition of mind, it is necessary to refer to the ancient custom of Spain at the burial of her sovereigns.

In order to prevent the possibility of any of that royal race being consigned living to the tomb, and perhaps, at a former period, to ascertain that they really were dead and that no substitution of baser earth had been made, a noble of the court was chosen by lot, to inspect the contents of the coffin. This office fell, at the death of Isabella, to Don Francis Borgia; and when, conquering the reluctance he must have felt, opening the gorgeous shell, he discovered the features of the great Queen, who when alive had ever distinguished him by peculiar favours, already mouldering into decay and hardly to be recognized, even by one who knew and valued her so well, the haughty patrician shuddered at the horrid sight; and reflecting how little difference there is between the monarch of countless cities and the meanest peasant at the last; how the mournful cries of a devoted people, the blazonry of unnumbered scutcheons, and the pomp of a whole kingdom, hardly serve to dignify what they have no power to avert; turned aside in fervent prayer; and the desire of devoting himself to the Holy Church became the ruling motive of his imaginative mind.

Soon after, Eleanor de Castro followed her royal mistress, and her husband sped to Ignatius, whom he had known and admired some time before. There, in the lowly dwelling of the Jesuit chief, he gave a loose rein to the torrent of religious fervor which in early years had beat high within him, and even in manhood had never totally been checked. Declining or evading every proffered honour, no longer Duke of Gandia, Grandee of Spain, Knight or Gentleman, he devoted heart, soul and body to the society he so gladly entered. The remainder of his life is enveloped by his contemporaries in a bewildering cloud of miracles, fasts and penances, some of these latter so severe as to fill us with

horror and compassion, other so childish and nauseating as to excite our ridicule or disgust.

Borgia absolutely refused to aid the morose-minded of his Order who encouraged the Holy Inquisition in their murderous crimes. He was not a persecuting fanatic, but left behind a reputation for purity of life, and a carefully framed Code of Education, which, for a time, was scrupulously followed by his successors.

EBERHARD MERCURIANUS.

THIS fourth General has left a name distinguished by no action or opinion worthy of being recorded; the only important circumstance connected with his tenure of office was, that by its being conferred on him, a change was made in the nationality of the holder. The reason of this was, because in some countries, especially in France, men had begun to look with suspicion on an Order, whose three great rulers had all been Spaniards, and to suspect that some devotion to their country might find its way into the love of their institution, and that Philip of Spain was put by them in possession of more exact information of the states of each convent than was consistent with the general safety. Pope Gregory XIII. therefore persuaded the Jesuits to elect, first, Eberhard Mercurianus, and then, 1581, Claudius Accquaviva.

CLAUDIUS ACCQUAVIVA.

CLAUDIUS ACCQUAVIVA, or as the name is sometimes spelt in older authors, Aquaviva, entered upon his new sphere of life at a very momentous period. The Order was even now beginning to shew symptoms of internal dissensions, and his first actions, though sufficiently decisive to admit of no opposition, did not altogether conduce to the general peace. Young men, the old Jesuits complained, destitute of merit, and untried in the battle of life, were set over those who had long borne the brunt of war. Neapolitans, too, were introduced; and though it was natural that the leader's own compatriots should rally round him, still it did not contribute to his popularity when he gave them the better offices at his disposal. But however much the members might murmur, the astute ruler did not heed. Cool, calm, thoughtful and silent, he awaited the progress of events: never did he commit himself to the expression of an opinion, when by any chance his actions could declare it for him. Of the most pious disposition, at least outwardly, and in the spirit of most of his public deeds, gifted with so powerful a influence over the minds of the young, the gallant and the happy, that Maximilian of Bavaria, in writing to his father, declared, "If one does but look at him, one must love him," Accquaviva was, both by family position and intrinsic worth, well qualified to uphold the dignity he had succeeded to. He was the last great General; and in him were united many qualities wanting in some of the former, together with many they also possessed. If there could have been formed

a man, in whom the lofty bearing and deep-seated enthusiasm of Loyola, and the god-like devotion and self-abandonment of Xavier, could have been combined with Laynez's eloquence, and Don Francis' princely manners and pious reliance on the Supreme; surely, Adam himself, though created perfect, could not have towered so far above him as to seem to belong to another race. Accquaviva, however, was no demi-god, no concentration of mighty talents; but simply a very prudent, learned champion of the Roman Catholic faith; who, as ruler of a body specially devoted to the defence of the Papal See, found himself involved in all the keen disputes and even bitter strifes with which the age abounded. For already the whole body of Europe was pregnant with the throbbing seeds of many a mighty struggle; and difficult must it have been for the chief of the company of Jesus, as he looked out on the horizon, black with the impending clouds of a mighty tempest, to decide on what course he should command his band of oarsmen to row their quivering bark.

We must now leave the line of conduct pursued by Accquaviva at this eventful crisis, to be portrayed by its effect on the fortunes of his society in their different spheres of action.

JESUITS IN ENGLAND.

DURING Elizabeth's reign, many thousands adhered to the ancient doctrine; and the Jesuits having resolved on

attempting this island, the Pope created Thomas Stukely, an English adventurer at Rome, poor and of small repute, but possessing a very fascinating eloquence, Marquis of Leinster; and giving him supplies of money and a small body of troops, sent him to capture Ireland. With these, however, he joined Sebastian's expedition to Africa, and there perished; while Geraldine, his original lieutenant, was despatched to the land of Erin. He landed, June, 1579, and took part in the disastrous revolt of the Earl of Desmond, which was soon quelled, and the fair province of Munster desolated by the victors.

The same year, William Allen* founded an English College at Rome; and a devoted body of students therein educated, pledged themselves, by many solemn oaths, to accomplish the conversion of heretic Britain. Parsons and Campian were the leaders of these missionaries, and it was diligently instilled into their minds that their mission was of far greater importance than even that of Francis Xavier in Asia. They soon gained access to the houses of many of the nobility who still adhered to the old doctrine: the effect of this was little more than to exasperate the Government against the Romanist party, and to render their religious tenets more obnoxious than before. In 1582 it was declared high treason to seduce the Queen's lieges to the doctrine of Rome. In 1585, all Jesuits were banished the kingdom within forty days, on the ground that "they desired not the establishment of a pious religion, but the disturbance and revolution of the land."

* Dr. Allen was a member of Oriel College and Canon of York. Parsons was a Balliol man. Camden, in his *Britannia*, gives an account of Parsons and Campian, which shews that the boldness and determination of the one, and the refined manners and elegant language habitual to the other, rendered them well fitted for their dangerous mission.

Elizabeth had openly countenanced the Netherlands in their disputes with Rome; and both the Pope and Philip II. were wild with rage against "the English Jezebel," as they politely termed her. After the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, the fury of the Catholics could no longer be contained. William Allen, the founder of Jesuitism in England, was created Cardinal, and war thus declared against that country. We all know how the people of Britain armed as one man to repel the vaunted Armada, and how the powers of heaven fought in our favor, and the mighty fleet was shattered and sunk by a furious gale: but it is not so generally known, that Philip was only prevented by affairs nearer home from making a second attempt.

The next we hear of the English Jesuits is in connection with the infamous plot of the 5th November, 1604. The five conspirators, of whom Catesby was chief, received the Sacrament from Father Gerard, who, however, did not know at the time what a deed they were contemplating. Catesby, though mad with the desire of avenging those wrongs which he and others of his faith considered they sustained at the hands of the Protestants, still had some scruples of conscience; to allay which he consulted the Jesuit Greenway, but did not listen to his mild remonstrances. He, however, appealed to his provincial, Garnet; and thus, three Jesuits, Gerard, Greenway and Garnet, became aware of the existence of this fellowship of murderers, but did not disclose it to the Government.

We all know the story of the discovery of this nefarious conspiracy; it only concerns this article to follow the fate of the Jesuits concerned in it. Gerard and Greenway, after many adventures, escaped to the Continent. Garnet, having previously sent to the Council a declaration of his innocence, took the further precaution of hiding himself at Hendlip,

near Worcester, in the house of Thomas Abingdon, brother-in-law of Lord Monteagle to whom the mysterious warning was conveyed by Tresham, which led to the failure of the plan. This must have been a good house for such a purpose; and it is a substantial comment on the state of domestic life in England, when we read, that after ten secret chambers had been discovered, they broke into the right one, in which the two priests, Garnet and Oldcorne, were concealed. They were then carried off, together with the master of the house and their two servants, to the Tower, where the latter were, according to the barbarity of the day, cruelly tortured. Garnet himself, being threatened with the rack, proudly answered, "*Minate ista pueris.*" But what brutality could not extort, craft entrapped them into. The two priests were allowed to converse; while, in a cavity near their cell, were secreted the private secretary of Cecil and a magistrate, who reduced to writing five long conversations of those luckless men, in which they discussed the questions that had already been put, and how they should elude their interrogators in other cases. By this and other means a case was at length made out against the unhappy Provincial: and although we detest, as all must do, the plot in which he took a passive part, and despise him for his mean evasions and paltry quibbles, still it is a very great disgrace to the law of England at that period, that Sir Edward Coke, one of our greatest lawyers, should have dared to conduct a prosecution by means of evidence obtained in such a dastardly manner. He detailed all the conspiracies ever even ascribed to the Jesuits, for the last fifty years; inveighed against their practice of equivocation and the ambition of the society; and finally declared that they were all leagued and sworn to destroy the King and every Protestant leader in the land. He utterly failed in his attempt to prove Garnet, or even the society,

to have originated the plot; and all that could be made of the case was misprision of treason, through not divulging the secrets revealed at confession; of which crime he was accordingly found guilty. So far, Garnet had not forfeited all claim on our respect; and although his silence might have cost the lives of the entire Parliament and their Sovereign, the plea might have stood good—so sacred is the confession of a sinner to his spiritual father. But when it appeared that Catesby consulted him in the presence of a third person, the idea of confession was at once dispelled. This discovery and the doctrine of equivocation, to which he committed himself during his examinations, sealed his fate, and he was executed on the 3rd May, 1606.

The next mention of the Society is in connection with one of the most extraordinary and villainous episodes in the history of our country, namely, the perjury of Titus Oates, in reference to the so-called Popish Plot. Oates had been expelled from two of their colleges, one at Valladolid, the other at St. Omer; yet, though he was a liar, traitor and total impostor, by accusing the Jesuits, and Papists generally, of the crime of treason he caused scores of innocent people to be murdered, of whom the most to be respected and compassionated was the aged Earl of Stafford.* There is no need to follow that nauseous stream of lying nonsense which deluded an entire kingdom, as it does not concern the Jesuits more than any others of the Papist party. In 1687, when James II. had nearly completed his tenure of the English throne, the Jesuits had in the Savoy a college of about 400, attracted by the learning of the teachers there established. But the revolution of 1688 put a period to their existence, and we hear little or nothing more of them in later years.

* Executed Dec. 29th, 1680.

JESUITS IN FRANCE.

IN 1577, Cardinal Lorraine founded a college of the society of Jesus at Pont-au-Mousson, and his kinsman, the Duke of Guise, another at Eu, in Normandy, which was specially intended for the English. Many other nobles following in their steps, colleges were soon established at Rouen, Dijon, Nevers, and other provincial towns.

During the wars of the League, the Jesuits espoused the cause of their patron of Guise, whom they called a second Judas Maccabæus, Josiah, and other holy names. Soon after that Duke and his Cardinal brother had been assassinated by order of Henri III., on the 1st August, 1589 that monarch fell by the hand of Jacques Clement, who, though nominally a Dominican student, has been supposed to have acted under the advice of the Jesuits, like the murderer of William of Orange a short time before.

In the early part of the reign of Henri of Navarre, the Order vehemently opposed him, and the Sorbonne regulated the courtly religion; and when, as the King was entering Paris from Amiens, a scholar of one of their colleges, Jean Chastel by name, attempted to forestall the hateful crime of Ravallac and actually wounded the monarch in the mouth, the people rose against them and they were driven from the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Paris by special edict, though not from the separate dominions of the senates of Bourdeaux and Languedoc. In 1598, owing to their services in the cause of education and the forgiving nature of the Béarnese monarch, they were recalled, and spread

through the towns as before ; reminding the reader of that description given by Tacitus of the Roman astrologers, "*Genus est hominum, quod in civitate nostrâ et vetabitur semper et retinebitur.*" During the same year Henri IV. signed the celebrated Edict of Nantes, by which many important privileges were secured to the Huguenots, who had hitherto, by the King's conversion, been disappointed of those advantages which they had been led to expect. Against this memorable measure, the Jesuits and other monastic orders vigorously declaimed ; and it was not until the beginning of 1599 that it was finally registered by the Paris Parliament.

Thus, for a time, the religious strife which had for forty years convulsed the domestic condition of the kingdom was composed ; and the religion which still maintained the first place in Court and with the people was that of Rome ; though the Reformers enjoyed full liberty of conscience, and numbered a very large proportion of the population amongst their adherents.

In the year 1610, when the Navarrese monarch threatened to plunge all Europe into a general war, and the din of preparation was heard in every town in his dominions, that amorous prince must needs, forgetful for a moment of ambition, and mindful only of a softer passion, attempt to gain possession by force of the exquisitely beautiful Charlotte de Montmorency, married to the Prince of Condé, who, however, eluded his grasp and arrived safely in Brussels. The extravagances which Henry IV. then indulged in, afforded the Jesuits a glorious opportunity of trying to undermine his authority, pretending that he was planning a league with the German heretics for the demolition of the Papacy and the Romish ritual in France. This same year Henri was assassinated by the fanatic Ravallac, in the

Rue de La Ferronnière, May 14th. Various reasons were assigned for the crime ; the hatred of Vienna and Madrid ; the turbulence of the Duke d'Epéron ; and lastly, the malice of the Jesuitical party. Ravallac never confessed ; but at his examination put some exceedingly curious questions to the Jesuit d'Aubigné, which seemed to hint that he got the first idea of the crime from some one of his sermons.

During the reign of Louis XIII., Richelieu, who entered office in 1624, began that system of exterminating the Huguenot party which brought untold misery upon countless innocent homes. In no place was this more evident than at La Rochelle ; the capture of which place in spite of its supplies from England, though it may reflect credit on the Cardinal's ability as a general, does little honour to his humanity as a politician. In this reign and the next, the Jesuits were almost always attached to the Court party, especially during the war of the Fronde, so important an episode in the earlier years of Louis XIV. The chief heroines of that singular revolt were Jansenists, as Madame de Longueville and Madame de Chevreuse.

In the year 1684, Louis XIV. contracted that extraordinary marriage, which, if taken in all its curious details, has no parallel in the history of courts and princes. Françoise d'Aubigné, granddaughter of a Protestant historian of no mean reputation, born in a prison at Niort, where her father was confined for homicide ; nearly thrown overboard as lifeless during her passage across the Atlantic ; then married, as a great promotion, to the old jester Scarron ; next, after his death, as "La Veuve Scarron," appointed governess to the King's children by Madame de Montespan ; though two years older than the monarch, was actually and secretly wedded to him by Père la Chaise. The immediate consequence of

this love-match was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes ; a proceeding unjust, cruel and disastrous in the highest degree. The frightful tortures and outrages inflicted everywhere on the unhappy Huguenots drove them wholesale over to England : peer and peasant, painter, sculptor, tradesman and man of letters, all who belonged to the denounced religion fled at once ; and to this day, in Babylon the Great, are many traces of their descendants.*

In 1709, the Jesuit Le Tellier obtained from the King the suppression, with much severity, of the well-known convent of Port Royal, which had always been one of the best regulated convents in the Romish body.

After having withstood successfully the forces of Luther and Calvin, during the seventeenth century, Jesuitism had become predominant all over France, and ruled the consciences of three successive monarchs by their Father Confessors. Latterly they maintained a bitter controversy with their implacable enemies, the Jansenists and religious of Port Royal, who opposed to them the famous Pascal, author of those *Lettres Provinciales*, which, by poignant sarcasm and ingenious vein of ridicule, effected more in that volatile nation than could have been accomplished by the elaborate arguments of the most profound theologian. Their final overthrow was, however, close at hand, and in a manner curiously consonant with the spirit of that gay people. Madame de Pompadour, wishing to exchange the character of mistress of Louis XV. for the more decorous position of Lady-in-waiting to the Queen, applied to her confessor, the Jesuit De Sacy, who, she thought, by his influence with the King, would be able to obtain for her that coveted honour. But De Sacy was too honest to use his spiritual authority for such base ends, and boldly told the haughty

* Particularly the Spitalfields weavers.

parvenue, that if, as she said, she had really renounced all connection with Louis, she ought to retire, like La Vallière, before her, and seek forgiveness of offended Heaven in the retirement of a convent. By this piece of uprightness, very different from the general practice of the Jesuits of that corrupt age, he at once discharged the duties of a Christian priest, and made a powerful and bitter enemy for his Order. Nor had Jeanne Antoinette Poisson de Pompadour long to wait her revenge. The vast extent of the Jesuit missions in the colonies had already exposed them to the temptation of filling the treasury of the society by means of trade. At this time, owing to the damage inflicted by England on French commerce, one of the largest of these spiritual merchants, Father Lavalette, manager of a bank at the Antilles, failed for three million livres ; two of his creditors at Marseilles,* considering that the whole body were liable to make up the deficit, and being refused payment by Ricci, then General, entered into an action against them. The Grand Master laid the affair before the Parliament of Paris, with the most fatal results to their prosperity : for the French senate, urged on by Choiseul and Madame de Pompadour, not only decided against them, on the ground that, as by their constitution the property of every member was vested in the Chief, therefore their liabilities were also ; but, having carefully examined the rules and ordinances of the Order, reported, that such an *imperium in imperio*, governed by its peculiar laws and owing no allegiance to the established government, was, in itself, highly dangerous to the political and moral integrity of the realm. Accordingly, 1st August, 1762, the Society of Jesus was banished the kingdom, and two years later the proceedings of Parliament

* The Marseilles merchants were named Lincy ; the suit was instituted 1755. Heeren's *Eur. Colonies*, p. 256, ed. 1846.

were ratified by a special royal edict, extorted from the reluctant monarch by the wiles of the would-be Lady-in-waiting ; and all property belonging to them confiscated.

JESUITS IN SWEDEN.

DURING the middle of the sixteenth century there had been a sharp contest in Sweden between the Lutheran and Papal adherents ; and when John became King, though brought up in the strictest tenets of the Reformed doctrine, still, on account of his marriage with the Roman Catholic Catherine of Jagellon, the expectations of the Jesuits were raised, and they hoped gradually to subject that hardy race to the ancient discipline of their Church. John had experienced, during his imprisonment, much kindness and ghostly admonition from a Catholic priest ; and, as soon as he assumed the reins of government, allowed the learned Father Possevin, 1578, to enter the hitherto forbidden territory under his control. But the zealous priest attempted too much, and too hastily. The King made the "*professio fidei*" according to the formula of the Council of Trent ; and soon after, received from his spiritual adviser absolution for that atrocious murder of his brother, to which he owed his succession to the throne. But when, after a brief absence at Rome, where he expressed the most sanguine expectations of converting the Swedish nation, Possevin returned, habited

in the full uniform of his Order; the monarch, who had begun to see how entirely in opposition to the national prejudices his conduct appeared, was careful not to commit himself to any very decided step in their favour. While they were still endeavouring, by means of subtle controversial arguments, to shake the authority of the Protestant Divines, Queen Catherine died; and their great anchor in the kingdom being thus lost, they took advantage of a plague then raging at Stockholm, to make a dignified retreat; plainly perceiving that the King had no intention of sacrificing his throne to the principles of religion.

Immediately after John's death, a Council was held at Upsal, 1593, by some of the dignitaries of the Swedish estates, amongst whom occurs the patriotic name of Oxenstiern, so well known to all students of northern history; in which they declared the religion of the nation to be essentially Protestant, and proclaimed anew that confession of Augsburg, of which, as the work of his ancestors' printing press, the inimitable Jonathan Oldbuck was so justly proud.

But the new king Sigismund, although he had sworn, in 1587, to introduce no doctrines into the Church contrary to the reformed creed, entered his dominions accompanied by numerous Jesuits and other priests, and even by Malaspina, an accredited legate from the Papal See, who had received instructions from the Pope to leave no means untried for the conversion of the heretics, and a sum of 20,000 scudi to further the progress of his labour. Sigismund's coronation was for some time delayed by the vigorous remonstrances of the estates of Sweden, who declared that they would bind themselves by no vows of allegiance till assurance were given that their religion should remain intact. The King, hesitating between his natural desire of possessing so fair a realm, and his religious scruples, appealed to the Jesuits for advice;

who decided, with their usual facility, that the King might accede to the demands of the heretics, provided he entered into similar contracts with the Catholics—in fact, put himself in the same position as their own body, who were sworn to obey the commands of two distinct masters.

Sigismund having retired in dismay from his distracted kingdom, from 1595 to 1598 the reformers were all-powerful, and beset the Romanists in every quarter. Another champion, too, had arisen on their side. Duke Charles of Sudermania, considering that the moment of action had arrived, held a diet, against the express orders of his nephew, and thereby pledged himself to a vigorous opposition. In 1598, Sigismund determined to make a final attempt to regain his supremacy; but being hampered by the dependence on others, which had become habitual to him, while his bolder adversary relied entirely on his own military genius and moreover had the immense advantage of being on the spot, the cause of the King *de jure* seemed likely to make but little head against that of the *de facto* ruler. The Polish army was utterly defeated at Stagebro', after having gained a few trifling successes: Sigismund fled to Dantzic; and soon after abandoning all pretensions to the throne, his victorious kinsman, who at first contented himself with the title of administrator, assumed the insignia of monarch as well as the authority, and was crowned under the name of Charles IX.

In 1611, the far-famed Gustavus Adolphus succeeded to his father, Charles IX.; and as, during his eventful reign, nothing occurred in Sweden connected with the Jesuits, his glorious career in Germany must be left untouched. In 1644, Christina, his daughter, one of the most marvellous instances of how unfeminine a learned lady can become, took possession of the administrative power, though not crowned

till some years after ; and devoted herself to the affairs of her country with a tact, an energy and ability unsurpassed by any of her sex. But though exempt from all the ordinary frailties of female nature ; learned without affectation ; capable of conducting the most abstruse arguments that ever puzzled the brain of a royal logician ; and curiously negligent of those personal attractions which she possessed in a considerable degree ; the daughter of Gustavus had one fatal blemish. The religion for which her mighty-minded father died on the field of Lutzen, and in which she herself declared she could find no glaring absurdity or self-apparent error, was not good enough for her. Though she had made no mean progress in every branch of anatomy, botany and astronomy ; though some of the greatest thinkers of the age were her constant guests ; though, in a word, she had every patriotic motive and every mental inducement to revere the established faith of her country ; she must still, forsooth, unburden her conscience to the wily Antonio Macedo, confessor of her Portuguese Ambassador ; and after receiving precious consolation from that worthy source, despatched him to the Vatican, with an entreaty for more Jesuits. In 1652 they arrived, and still the Queen had sufficient wisdom to see through their shallow reasonings and expose their slender arguments.* But what they could not effect, some secret infatuation effected for them. Her mind was wholly perverted ; and despite the earnest entreaties of her minister, and the representations of the reverend head of that house of

* The following contemporary account of her may possess interest :—"La Reine, de laquelle je puis dire sans flatterie, qu'elle tient mieux sa partie es conferences qu'elle tient assez souvent avec MM. Bouchart, Bourdelot, Du Fresne et moi, qu'aucun de la compagnie ; et si je vous dis que son esprit est tout-a-fait extraordinaire, je ne mentirai point ; car elle a tout vu, elle a tout lu, elle sait tout."—*Naude a Gassendi*, 1652. For an account of the Jesuits' introduction to the Queen, the curious in Court intrigues may consult Ranke's *History of the Popes*, appendix p. 495, 1843.

Oxenstiern which had rendered such great services to the state under her soldier sire and in her own early years; regardless of the outcries of a whole people, in 1654 she abdicated her throne, and set out on a pilgrimage to Rome; depositing the insignia of royalty at Loretto, as a humble token of adoration to the great patroness of that corrupt faith for which she had exchanged the true, though, perhaps, severe, doctrines of the Lutheran Church of Sweden.

JESUITS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

As soon as the new society, founded on a basis so strikingly different from every other monastic institution, had established itself in Rome, it spread almost simultaneously over Italy. In Parma, despite the machinations of Caraffa and the Holy Inquisition, favoured by the illustrious family of Farnese, princesses themselves followed the thirty days' examination prescribed by the *exercitia spiritualia* of Ignatius. Laynez too, used his extraordinary eloquence to such purpose in Venice, that, though he must have acquired the language late in life, he founded a college, even in that city which, from its oligarchical constitution, never encouraged the Order as much as others. Strada also had such command over the magistrates of many Italian cities, that they are reported to have actually accompanied him in his begging expeditions; and to have held a metaphorical hat

for the contributions of the pious, while he knocked lustily at the doors.

In Spain they made many proselytes, especially in Barcelona and Valencia; in which latter place no church could contain the crowd of wondering laymen who came to hear the impassioned sermons of Ignatius; while, from a miserable hovel in Salamanca, the Jesuits inundated the whole country. In Portugal they soon, under Simon Roderigo, became confessors to all the principal men, both lay and ecclesiastic. At the death of Ignatius, thirteen provinces were under the jurisdiction of the Jesuit Chief—seven in Spain and her colonies, three in Italy, (not to mention the head-quarters at Rome), one large and increasing in Portugal, and two in Germany, where, however, the society had hardly penetrated.

To gain a fair idea of the services rendered by the company of Jesus to the Papal see, it may not be amiss to glance at the proceedings of those stubborn and unwavering antagonists with whom they had to contend. The sixteenth century was a long tissue of religious controversies. The Emperor Charles V., being opposed to Pope Paul III. on many most important questions, had already begun to deny him that respect which so peculiarly haughty a Pontiff claimed, as successor of Hildebrand and Innocent III. Protestantism, meanwhile, swept like a mighty torrent over the face of Europe. Nation after nation embraced its reasonable opinions, contrasting its plain, nay, oftentimes, rude simplicity, with the polished dissimulation and refined subtlety of intrigue, which prevailed amongst the champions of Papacy; until, in Pius IV's pontificate, Scandinavia and Britain, a very large portion of Germany, Poland and Hungary, together with many districts of France and the Netherlands, had totally abandoned the ancient ritual; and of the many kingdoms

over which the Vicegerent of Christ upon earth had ruled supreme, Spain and Italy alone remained faithful to his spiritual guidance; while some of the nobles, especially in Poland, declared that, as they were bound by no allegiance to their King, neither would they be to the Pope. From Iceland to the Pyrenees, from Finland to the Italian Alps,* beyond which lay the no less obnoxious schism of the Greek Church, the wave of religious disturbance had driven the followers of Rome. The very clergy secretly favoured the heretical doctrines; and the nuns in their lonely convents, though sedulously removed from all connection with the mighty progress of free and enlightened ideas, began to feel the influence of truth over falsehood, however alluring and strikingly suited to the peculiar formation of the female character. And yet I firmly believe that what we have been pleased, in our arrogance and self-complacency, to call the weaker portion of humanity, can, *cæteris paribus*, unravel the tissue of falsehood and deception as quickly as the more vigorous members of the race. Be that as it may; it is notorious that they have generally yielded themselves implicitly to the persuasions of their cherished pastors; and therefore it may be taken as no mean criterion of the influence which the new doctrine began to exercise on the continent, when we find those most bound to the old faith allying themselves with the new. Perhaps there might have been some amongst them who remembered that Luther espoused a nun; and in their hearts might have glowed the desire, so natural and holy, that they might yet live to become mothers of loving children, and firmly-planted guardian angels in the souls of honest men; for, surely, many a poor girl, buried in a nunnery at a tender age, before the heart had been in a position to be weaned from the hopes

* Ranke's *History of the Popes*.

of future heaven-blessed love, must often have felt these feelings to grow with her growth, and take possession of her inmost nature, God-implanted, man-rejected: causing bitter sorrow and working what good? Self-denial? Perchance that virtue may be strained to such an extent that the denial shall destroy the self in its original virtue and loveliness, and the new self become, as notoriously has often been the case, a being, existing, not living, in the world, tortured, saddened, crushed.*

However, to return to our original subject:—The Vatican, alarmed by these rapid encroachments, beset by so many dangers, and opposed by so many valiant champions of light and liberty, when even their staunchest partizans in the smaller states of the Germanic Union were compelled to yield to the outward pressure, suddenly changed their policy; and abandoning the old system of trying to undermine by intrigue what they could not successfully subdue by the armour of polemics, concluded a firm alliance with Spain; and having set the tremendous machinery of the Inquisition, than which no human invention has more crimes, notorious or unheard of, to answer for at the awful search into man's misguided heart, to subdue any symptoms of defection which might arise in that bulwark of their cause, began to consider, whether the newly founded Order of Jesus, eminently distinguished by their rapidly spreading power, carefully framed constitution, strict system of early training, and more especially by that vow of obedience to the Pope in missions, to which they alone of all the

* Perhaps I may be charged with opposing these convents on very low grounds. And yet, what in the whole wide range of a sacred humanity is so glorious, so lovely, or so suggestive of the Divine influence over our fallen nature, as a mother's love? Surpassing even the love of man and wife, of sister and brother, of lover and beloved, is the purity of affection which she who bare ever cherishes for those she has borne; and of that ecstatic feeling, a solemn vow has bereft many who languish now, as they have done long before, in utter hopelessness and life embittered.

orders who clustered round the banner of St. Peter had pledged themselves, would not form the most effectual counterpoise to the innovating spirit of the age. Accordingly, they were soon informed of the services expected of them; and it will be the object of the next few pages to trace their progress in one portion and another of Central Europe.

In 1550, Bishop Urban, of Laibach,* having made the acquaintance of the Jesuit Le Jay at the Diet of Augsburg, persuaded Ferdinand I. to found a college at Vienna, which should counteract the decay of Catholic theology then impending in Germany. The Emperor himself wrote to Ignatius Loyola, and next year thirteen Jesuits arrived under Le Jay in person, and were incorporated with the University. At the same time they established themselves in Ingoldstadt and Cologne, and from these three centres spread in every direction. From Vienna they proceeded to Prague, where the Bohemian and Hungarian nobles received them willingly; and one of the latter, Nicholas Olahus, having been devoted by his father to the service of God, in expiation of a fearful murder committed in their ancestral castle, and possessing great influence through his rank and piety, freely used it to the furtherance of the society's endeavours. Moravia soon followed, and many a college in Olmutz, Brunn, and other towns, testified in rapid succession to their vigorous measures. Along the Rhine too, they were very successful; and they were planted in Mainz, Heidelberg and Spire within a very short period. Others advanced along the Maine; and as they hoped during the great fair at Frankfort to make some converts in that stronghold of Protestantism, they were put to most ingenious devices to escape being detected, continually changing their clothing, and remaining only one night in the same

* Maffeo Barberini, Confessor of Ferdinand I., and afterwards Pope Urban VIII.

lodgings. Encouraged by Ferdinand in the Diet of 1559, they spread over Franconia, and soon were invited into the Tyrol by the Emperor's daughter; while the Bavarians received them so gladly at Munich, that they called it the Rome of the German Empire.

The first rector of a Jesuit college in Vienna was a Spaniard, John Vittoria, who had already given substantial proofs of being thoroughly imbued with the enthusiasm of his teachers; and under such able management, the children of the new schools began to shew themselves much more rigid Papists than had been known for ages.

Surely this was rapid progress, even for a society which baptized its Japanese and Indians by tens of thousands. In five short years, Bavaria, the Tyrol, Franconia and Suabia were overrun, and a lodgement effected in Hungary, Bohemia and Moravia. According to the commands of Laynez, at that time General, they specially applied themselves to the education of youth; and that may explain why almost all their establishments in Germany were connected with some one or other of the Universities which were scattered so plentifully up and down that learned land. The men by whom these astonishing successes were produced were principally Spaniards and Portuguese, and went by the name of the Spanish Priests. They owed to their sincere piety (for the Order had not yet fallen into the corrupt dogmas which afterwards entangled it), their hearty enthusiasm, and above all, to a steady observance of a well-considered method, their rapid advance. To use the words of the learned Leopold Ranke,* "with them everything was a subject of calculation, for everything had its especial end." This religious conquest of so large a portion of the Germanic nation serves to illustrate how

* Ranke's *History of the Popes*, p. 139, ed. 1843.

superior in energy, subtleness of thought, and ready adaptation of itself to circumstances, the Latin mind has been to the Teutonic. While the Reformers were debating abstruse doctrines amongst themselves and yielding to all the fascinations of polemics, the new body came silently among them and inserted that wedge which was destined so long to keep them divided.

On no one did the Jesuits make a more strenuous attack, and succeed in a more striking manner, than on Duke Albert of Bavaria, who, from having been the upholder of several heretical opinions, became the most zealous Papist, banishing priest and teacher of the obnoxious creed without mercy or delay. During 1770 and 1771, he took advantage of his power as guardian of the Margrave, Philip of Baden Baden, to forcibly convert that country also. Canisius, the Nuncio, gifted with the most exemplary piety and attractive manners, compelled and entreated every class of society to sign the *professio fidei*,* with such success, that after a short period scarce one of the Austrian Universities would confer even a medical diploma without the candidate signing this pledge, which was prescribed as a salutary remedy for the spiritual sickness of the realm. The Elector of Trier, Jacob Von Eltz, and Daniel Brendel, Elector of Mainz, staunch Romanists, and the Prince Bishop of Fulda, joined the Papal cause with heart and soul, other small states following in their wake; while the efforts of the sons of Loyola rather increased than diminished in intensity by exercise. Germany began to show Roman Catholicism in a state of unusual vitality.

Philip II. had not, meanwhile, been neglecting his spiritual Father's wishes. No one could complain of either inactivity or undue clemency in the monarch who deter-

* Ranke's *History of the Popes*.

mined to root out "that obnoxious plant from the soil of the Netherlands,"* as he termed the heretical doctrine of Luther and Calvin; although Mary, widow of Louis II., King of Hungary, Governess of the Netherlands,† having been petitioned by the council of Brabant, used her influence with the Emperor to obtain a modification of the oppressive severities of the Inquisition. The fate of his son, Don Carlos, had rendered even more stern and gloomy than before, a spirit never inclined to err on the side of that quality "which becomes the throned monarch better than his crown." He despatched the Duke of Alva to compel, by fire and sword, a whole people to enter the bosom of that loving Church which professed to be founded, nay more, to be the only one thus established, on the basis expressly chosen by the Prince of Peace. Jesuits followed the devastating track of the Spanish army in scores. Soldiers when dying on the field of battle, wishing to make their peace with offended Heaven, disclosed the secret burial places of their ill-got treasure; and thus many spoils of outraged houses; ornaments lately adorning a stately dame who might have figured on the glowing canvas of Rubens; or the more precious token, which, in some quaint old Flemish city, a golden-haired, blue-eyed maiden had cherished as her virgin fame or the love which it was unneeded to recall, now that the giver had fallen in the sacred cause of persecuted truth and the blue eyes were dim with weeping, while veins of silver mingled with the long golden tresses; were bequeathed by the expiring ruffian to the smooth-tongued Jesuit who knelt beside him. Mercilessly did the Duke perform his office, at once an inquisitor,

* Ranke's *History of the Popes*.

† The comparison of her mild rule of a quarter of a century, with the tyranny and suffering of succeeding years, caused the Flemings to look back on her memory with deep regret and hearty affection.—Davies' *Holland*, vol. 1.

butcher and marauder. The smoke of burning villages, the screams of violated maidens, both in the upper and lower classes, and the execrations of a peasantry who saw all that was dear to them in house or family despoiled or carried off in the sacred name of religion, ascended to the ears of Him who heard the cries of Egypt. No one who has considered the conduct of the Spaniards in their Indian colonies; the crimes of Cortez and Pizarro; and the fact, pregnant with unknown horror, that they were the chief patrons of the detestable Inquisition, can have any doubt that the nation which now ravaged the fair plains of the Low Countries and to whom the busy flock of Jesuits chiefly belonged, was as cruel and blood-thirsty a race as ever murdered man or sacked and burnt a city.

Alva, urged on by the Jesuits, though most likely that spur was hardly needed, perpetrated that crime which has outlasted the fame of his, by no means inferior, military talents, and has handed his name down for the abhorrence of, let us trust, a nobler age. This was the judicial murder of Counts Egmont and Horn, which was not commanded by Philip, and which can never be excused by even the most accommodating theory of political necessity.

The unfortunate Flemings were subdued entirely. Lutheranism had vanished, and the Roman priests, Dominicans, Carthusians, Jesuits, all the swarm of lying, cheating hypocrites came gleefully, struggling with each other for the choice morsels of ecclesiastical patronage which the victorious Alva had in his gift. And how was this regarded by the Papal conclave? "Monsignor," said a privy councillor of Philip to the Papal Nuncio, while these actions were in progress, "Are you content with the King's proceedings?" "Perfectly!" replied the Nuncio, with a gentle smile.*

* Ranke, p. 145.

But though one would like to trace the bold Flemish burghers of Haarlem, where they consumed all materials of food, even to the grass that grew in their streets; or of Leyden, where they let in the waves of the German ocean to repel the invader; and of the other towns of Flanders and Brabant; until the army of Spain became demoralized, and eventually, the gallant William of Orange held undisputed sway over the loving and admiring nation; my purpose in drawing attention to the struggle, (which was, to show how relentless are religious wars, even though priests, Jesuits, and Bishops, mingle in the forces of the combatants,) has been accomplished, and we pass on to the situation of the Jesuits in the more central portion of Europe.

To begin with Poland. In 1569 and 1570 they began to arrive, and entered into a spirited contest with the Protestants, who were in possession of the chief power of the state and would have placed a Protestant monarch on the throne, had they not imagined that the Pope was a useful check upon royal authority. During the reign of the celebrated Stephen Bathory, at Cracow, Grodno and several other cities, important colleges were erected by them, and Stephen declared rather strongly in favor of Romanism. After his death, the family of Zamoiski elected Sigismund III. King of Sweden, who being a zealous Papist, the Jesuits flourished exceedingly, and the nobility began to be converted, not only from the doctrines of Luther, but also from the schism of the Greek Church. The Nuncio Rangone did all in his power to destroy the Protestant tenets, and the Jesuits assisted him willingly; hundreds of them in Livonia and Lithuania alternately instructed those in the services of religion who had never even received either of the Sacraments which we consider necessary to salvation, and weaned others from the heretic party. But these successes were not

achieved without disturbance. Protestantism was still alive, and came often to an open rupture with its Spanish opponent, and then the Jesuits scrupled not to commit several acts of violence and depredation.* The Society also began to experience opposition from Russian and Cossack sources, the Greek Church, and the towns of Polish Prussia, and their leaders in Sweden had utterly failed; so that their cherished idea of a Catholic prince on the united throne of Sweden and Poland, with Jesuitical ministers, was crushed, when very near its accomplishment.

In Switzerland also the Order made some progress. A colonel in the Swiss guard at Rome, 1574, persuaded some of them to go to Lucerne, where Ludwig Pfeiffer, the great man of the country, erected a college for them. Letters were despatched by the inhabitants to the General, begging for more pastors; and amongst this simple race, the intricate theology of the Order was accepted as the true faith; and in 1586 the Catholic cantons joined the celebrated Borromean league, so called from Carlo Borromeo the Papal legate, which, after concluding an alliance with Philip II. of Spain, pledged itself to uphold the Romish creed. The situation of Geneva, now menaced by the ambitious Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, became critical. That Duke subdued all the states between him and Switzerland, and having expelled the Protestant teachers, turned his attention towards Geneva. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, the Romanists began to abandon the idea of subduing Protestantism in Switzerland, but confined their ambition to making a respectable opposition to that party which, from its wealth and respectability,

* In 1611, the Protestant churches at Wilna were destroyed, and their priests murdered. In 1616, at Posen, and round Cracow, the Bohemian and Lutheran churches were pulled down or burnt.

they could not hope to eradicate. This the Jesuit preachers tried to effect by every kind of domestic manœuvres and secret plans ; the nuncios of the Pope, by obtaining orders, offices, and other good things of this world for their faithful supporters in the higher ranks of society. The Grisons were Protestant.

To return to the condition of the Netherlands. The Prince of Orange and the Protestant party were extremely distasteful to the Walloon seigneurie ; and the Jesuits began to have some hopes. Arras, Namur, and St. Omer, the very sound of which latter name always suggests the idea of a Jesuit, became fastnesses of the Order. Douay also, and the abbey of Auchin, whose Abbot, Lentailleur, founded a University and practised the spiritual exercises *con amore*, supplied a centre from which they issued over all the Walloon provinces. But all at once a revolutionary spirit arose, and from these places, particularly from Ghent, they were expelled by force of arms ; and, as usual, within a marvellously short period, returned. Philip II., the great supporter of Jesuitism, invaded the Netherlands, and by the co-operation of the Walloons, drove the Prince of Orange to great straits and dangers. But not content with these successes, the Jesuit influence was used on perhaps two blood-thirsty assassins ; certainly on one. The first attempt made on William the Silent, by Jaureguy, was frustrated. That of Gerard, encouraged by a Jesuit of Trier, was more cleverly conducted, and the unfortunate and heroic Prince was shot through the head in his own private room, 1584. Thus the Jesuits, in a short space of time, were implicated in the assassination of two Kings of France ; the iniquitous conspiracy of Catesby in England ; this last crime ; and there is yet another in the history of Italy. After this, they triumphed for a while under the patronage

of Philip in the Netherlands, received back their property and acquired more, establishing themselves firmly at Brussels, Ghent and Antwerp.

At the same time that these events were passing into history in the Low Countries, Germany proper was the scene of many exploits of the Jesuits: they converted, baptized, taught and cajoled, until their schools spread and filled in many a city which considered itself strictly Lutheran. Julius of Wurzburg, their old pupil, made a regular progress through his episcopal dominions, forcing all hesitators to embrace the saving truth; and his example was followed by many of his neighbours. The report made by Accquaviva, in 1586, to the Pope, was the most flourishing which had for a long time been presented. The Archdukes Charles and Ferdinand carried over the greater portion of the Austrian dominions the stream of conversion which the Jesuits were only too willing to administer to those whose spiritual constitutions were not in good order; and, in 1590, we find the first convert among the Protestant princes, Jacob of Baden. About this time, under the Generalship of Accquaviva, the Jesuits put forth those doctrines of the sovereignty of the people, the lawfulness of regicide, and philosophical sin, which ever afterwards rendered them objects of universal suspicion.

The Spaniards joined the Dominicans: the French supported the Jesuits: * while the cautious Pope Clement VIII. maintained a strict neutrality.

From several causes there arose, about this time, a very great complication of affairs between Venice and the Pope Paul V., whose ideas were as autocratic as those of Innocent III., or the late encyclical letter of Pious IX. The jurisdiction claimed by him over Ceneda; the vexatious ex-

emptions granted by him to the Cardinals and other clergy from their fair share of taxes; the way in which books printed at their celebrated press were expurgated at Rome; and many other small grievances; induced the Venetians to think of seceding entirely from the Romish faith; and at that moment, the Jesuits, taking part vehemently in the disturbance, were, in company with some other bodies, banished to the papal states by the Doge and Senate, then smarting under the chastisement of an interdict. In 1607, when peace was concluded by the Pope, and the other orders returned, the Jesuits were refused admission; and it was not till 1657, in the pontificate of Alexander III., and at the express request of Louis XIV., that they were allowed to hold any services in the Water City, where they never attained any favourable reputation.

In 1619, Frederick, Elector Palatine, accepted the ill-fated gift of the crown of Bohemia, and in a few years his Protestant subjects were driven out of the kingdom by the furious Imperialists. Romanism was predominant, and the cause of Frederick ruined.

About this time, Gregory XV., an old pupil of the Jesuits, canonized Ignatius and Francis Xavier, with great splendour.

From 1617 to 1625, the Jesuits made great progress in Germany. Count Mansfield having been worsted in several engagements, they even contemplated Russia and Norway; and, under the patronage of Ferdinand, seemed likely to spread their doctrines over the whole Christian land. But this was very much counterbalanced by the glorious victories of Gustavus, soon after, and the Protestants revived. This portion of German history is so voluminous, and so little connected with the fate of the company of Jesus, that it is hardly within our province to discuss it.

JESUITS AMONGST THE GREEK CHURCH.

THE ancient Christian Church, which has been indifferently termed Greek, or Eastern, was nominally under the control of the Patriarch of Constantinople; though the other great Bishops of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, dignified with the same title, considered themselves equally powerful and independent, consecrating their own Bishops and Archbishops without reference to the supreme head. The sects into which the Greek Church has been split up, at one time and another, are very numerous; but, without burdening ourselves with intricate distinctions, it may be sufficient to take the progress of the Jesuit missions as connected with the two most important divisions: (1) the Monophysites, who assert that in our Lord's Body, there was only *one nature*; (2) the Nestorians, who affirm that there are *two distinct Persons or natures*—human and Divine.

The state of ignorance, degradation and servile dependence on the Sultan and other heathen sovereigns, into which this branch of the Christian religion had fallen, could hardly be credited, if it were not authenticated by the most trustworthy authors, and a matter of notoriety even at the present day. The priests were but little better instructed than their flock, and very often not so pure and virtuous as those they were supposed to lead in the paths of godliness. Licentiousness, drunkenness, simony, and other hideous vices, included clergy and people in one mantle of pollution. Exceptions there were of course, and some glorious ones,

most conspicuous amongst the general depravity, but these were very rare; and when the Jesuits turned their steps towards the Eastern realms, they found little more than the name of Christianity existing amongst them.

The African Monophysites, of whom the most important are the Abyssinians, owned the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Alexandria, who, from his throne in Cairo, appointed subordinate primates to superintend the Copts and Abyssinians, which latter nation gave their immediate Bishop the title of "Abunna."

With the first few years of the seventeenth century, the Jesuits commenced their attack on the ancient Church in Abyssinia, which claimed to have been founded by that eunuch of Queen Candace, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. The object to be gained was very tempting; they would have had a fair field for the most insatiate desire of proselytism; and, if successful, would be able to point with proud satisfaction to a vast congregation, rescued, as they would have phrased it, from certain, inevitable damnation. The opportunity also seemed providential. The Emperor Suzneius, or Sultan Segued, as he is usually called, was a zealous supporter of the missions. What the specious arguments of the priests might have failed to persuade him to grant, considerations of worldly advantage represented as exceedingly desirable. The monarch had set his mind on an alliance with Portugal, on account of the annoyance he experienced from the tribes of the interior. In order to gain the good opinion of the Courts of Lisbon and Madrid, he gave every privilege to the Jesuits that they had the boldness to demand, and committed the whole Church to the care of Alphonso Mendez, who was, 19th December, 1622, consecrated Patriarch of Abyssinia by Gregory XV., nominated by Philip IV. of Spain. The previous year had witnessed

a fatal blow to the old system, in the prohibition of public prayers for the Alexandrian Patriarch; but these few succeeding were destined to contain combinations of circumstances as curious as unforeseen. Mendez was of a character singularly unsuited to his office. It was no easy task, and required a careful consideration, a bold heart, and great command of temper, to be able to meet opposition by firmness, forethought, and dignified calmness; neither offending the prejudices of ancient manners, nor arousing the suspicions of the ministers. This quiet policy, which might have secured the whole country for the Papal see, was too tame for Alphonso Mendez: he had a great opinion of wholesome correction, and the efficacy of strong measures for subduing refractory heresy. The apparatus of the Spanish Inquisition was brought into play; and scores of wretched men, priests as well as laymen, felt the cruel tortures of rack and scourge, administered by European familiars, under the orders of priests of God and His gentle-natured Son. For a time this career of guilt brought no punishment with it. Tumults, seditions, plots and murders were now the satellites of the unscrupulous Society. All the old doctrines of the Abyssinian clergy were insolently held up to public ridicule; and even the Emperor himself began to feel that the Jesuit intrigues were sufficiently daring to disturb the throne itself. Roused by these discoveries, the Sultan in 1631 issued his celebrated public declaration, by which he retracted all the orders, formerly imposed on his subjects, of obedience to the Pope, and left them free to form their own opinions and to follow them. The discontent and treasonable language used by the Jesuits on this occasion gave the new Sultan Basilides, son of Segued, in 1634, a glorious pretext for banishing them from his dominions and retaliating upon them some of the cruelties inflicted on his father's subjects. Rome and

the Order of Jesus were henceforth synonymous in the land with cruelty, avarice and ambition ; and though Louis XIV. tried all the means in his power to induce the people to receive some Capuchin Friars, these luckless beings were stoned as soon as discovered ; and thus the haughtiness and fool-hardiness of one Jesuit chief plunged a whole country into a vortex of plots and tumults, destroyed many valuable lives and forfeited all hope of converting a justly indignant race.

THE NESTORIANS.

This sect, which derived its name from Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople in 428, held doctrines peculiarly obnoxious to the Roman Church ; especially denying the right of the Virgin to the ancient and pious title Θεοτόκος, or Deipara, and affirming that Christ, as Man, was not God, but only His temple, and that Mary was not Mother of God, but only of a man, thereby denying the incarnation of our Blessed Lord.

It has been matter of discussion, whether the Nestorians can be considered as having belonged to the Christian Church. Jewel, Usher and Laud, in our own country, and several equally learned authorities on the Continent, have held that they are not so far heretical as to be out of the Church's pale. However this difficult controversy may be decided, it is evident that they possessed but little in common with the doctrines taught at Rome ; and their conversion was pointed out to the Jesuits as the most meritorious work they could engage in. They were by no means loth to undertake this praiseworthy office ; more especially as it seemed to open out a vast field for their insatiable ambition. The spiritual dominion of the old Nestorian Pontiffs

was very extensive, embracing a great portion of Asia, large tracts of Arabia, and the primitive Christians of St. Thomas on the coast of Malabar: the chief province was Mesopotamia, while the Patriarch resided, originally at Bagdad, afterwards at Babylon (Mosul). The only thing wanting was a favourable opportunity for the introduction of the Order, and that was soon supplied by the Nestorians themselves. In the year 1551, a dispute arose as to the election of a new Patriarch; Simeon Barmanas being proposed by one party, Sulaka by the other. The latter determined to appeal to Rome; and after pledging himself to obey the Papal see in every respect, was consecrated 1553, by Julius III., under the title of John, Patriarch of Chaldea: By this decisive step on the part of Sulaka, a blow was struck at the foundation of his sect's peculiar system of theology; and henceforth they were to have those vain superstitions, from which they had hitherto kept free, instilled into them in place of their former heresy.

They seem to have received the Jesuits with some facility at first; as we find, in 1555, Simeon Denha, Archbishop of Gelu, adopting the communion of Rome, and when chosen Patriarch some years after, continuing the same course amid the mountains of Persia. Several of his successors followed in his steps, though regarded with jealous eyes by the greater Nestorian Pontiffs of Mosul. But the Malabar portion of their body experienced the greatest hardships from the methods employed to make them subservient to the discipline of the Church of Rome, or, as the learned Mosheim forcibly expresses it,* to induce them to abandon the religion of their ancestors, which was much more simple and infinitely less absurd.

About the latter end of this sixteenth century, Don

* Mosheim *Eccles. Hist.*, sixteenth century, section 2, cap. 8.

Alexis de Menzes, Bishop of Goa, a man of most impetuous nature, burning with zeal for the subjection of this inoffensive Church, made use of the willing followers of Ignatius, to oblige all heretics to relinquish their cherished faith. We may be assured that this imperious mandate was executed *con amore*, when we find even Roman Catholic authors stigmatizing the means and the object as contrary to true Christian charity and the dictates of justice and religion.

During this period the Patriarchs of Mosul had not yielded to the efforts of the wily Fathers. In 1607 and 1610, Elias II. sent embassies to Paul IV., and declared his wish to reconcile the Latin and Nestorian churches; but, though many advances were made all over their dominions, and though a small Jesuit church was established at Diarbeka and flourished for a time, it appears that, owing doubtless to the decline of these prelacies in wealth and importance and the many troubles which beset both Churches, the Roman see soon abandoned the once cherished project, and the Nestorians became in a great degree amalgamated with the Monophysites.

JESUITS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

At the same time that these events were passing into history on the deserts and in the thickly-populated cities of Abyssinia, a campaign of no ordinary magnitude was planned by the restless ambition of Pope Urban VIII. against the stronghold of the Greek Christians at Constantinople. The demoralized condition of that Church; the gross ignorance of its spiritual advisers; and also the temptation inspired by their great wealth and vast dominions, gave greater weight to the idea, which before this had been cherished by the Papal see, of amalgamating the doctrines of Rome and the city of

Constantine. It was a grand scheme—one that would have handed down to remote ages the imperishable fame of those who should successfully carry it out. The extent of territory over which the Patriarch of the Eastern hierarchy possessed a control, though, perhaps, in his case, divided, and as to some portions, merely nominal, might, in the hands of the more skilful and daring Pontiff, become a lasting memorial of the energy of Rome. Still, though the prospect seemed favourable, on account of the stagnation apparent in that ancient Church, and the small difference actually existing between their doctrines and those of the invading force; nevertheless, there was a deep hatred, the fruits of long years of controversy and deep-seated jealousy, which must be smoothed over before anything effectual could be achieved. The animosity of the Greeks towards the Latins can hardly be realized, when one considers how unimportant in general were the points at issue. But it was most intense. The very Greeks who had been educated at Rome, or in Romish Colleges, were the most hostile,* and were ably seconded in their opposition by the efforts of their Mohammedan lords, who were shrewd enough to perceive that the approach of Roman priests announced the advent of Jesuits, which, in its turn, by some natural sequence, infallibly foretold commotion, plotting and secret intrigue throughout the body politic. Against these prejudices, thus firmly rooted, it behoved the Papal see to be especially wary in their attack. One hasty move might ruin the cause; while to hesitate was to abandon the favourable moment. Therefore, the first emissaries were selected with all the precautions the magni-

* "Ils sont," says Father Simon, "les premiers à crier contre et à mentir du Pape et des Latins. Les Peleries Orientaux, qui viennent chez nous, fourbent et abusent de notre credulite, pour acheter un benefice et tourmenter les missionaires Latins."—R. Simon, sous le nom de plume Sanson, *Bibliothèque Critique*, tom i., chap. 23.

tude of the enterprise demanded. Greek and Oriental scholars, men of judgment to steer amongst the numerous prejudices, and of gentle bearing, to assimilate themselves to the no less varied tempers and characters of the schismatics, were sought after in every quarter of the Pontifical dominions. The key-note which was struck for their guidance by the master of the missionary choir, was *assimilation* in every form. By every means, under every disadvantage, the Jesuits were to prove to the reluctant natives that the two Churches were identical in all important doctrines: that whether they celebrated Easter on the same day, or used the same number of fingers in pronouncing the solemn benediction on their kneeling flock, or sang the heaven-inspired Hallelujah three times repeated or only twice, mattered but little: that on all vital points they were the same, save one, which was to be carefully inculcated upon them,—the spiritual supremacy of the Vicar of Christ and successor of SS. Peter and Paul, seated on the sacred throne of the once mighty Vatican.

So far, they started with a reasonable hope of success. Already Urban's heart beat high within him, and he pictured to himself a lofty triumph, great as even the mighty minds of Hildebrand or Innocent might have envied, and far greater than had fallen to the lot of his predecessors for ages. But one thing they had not calculated upon; and that was the most powerful of all—the genius of the Patriarch himself. Could they have ignored his ability, and despised him as a mere provincial, not likely to afford any real opposition to their cause? It may be so; or perhaps they hoped to triumph in his despite; or, darker still, (but, for the honour of what after all is a sacred office, we will hope it was not so,) could it be that the Pope contemplated the fearful crime by which this obstacle was to be removed, and which has cast an eternal slur upon one

of the last great efforts of his grasping and ambitious see?

At the same period that the Christians had resolved to subjugate, by means either fair or foul, the schism of Eastern Christianity, Cyrillus Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople, had thought over carefully in his mind a project of joining the reformed doctrines of the English and Dutch Churches. He knew familiarly the most secret workings of the sect which was in arms against him; his varied knowledge of mankind and most abstruse learning, in all the departments of science and literature, enabled him to estimate the results of those workings at their full value. His course lay open before him, and manfully he devoted himself to it. Article by article of their craftily disguised doctrines was overthrown: step by step he traced their progress through many a scene of political uproar and confusion; and finally declared that he infinitely preferred the pure teaching of the Reformed faith to the polluted sink of falsehood offered to his ignorant though faithful flock. This last declaration, perhaps rash, certainly calculated to arouse all the hidden venom of his opponents, cost him his life. The Jesuits left no means untried to destroy him: what they could not by the usage of truth effect, falsehood completed for them. The French Ambassador, to his eternal shame, prostituted his influence in the vile cause. False witnesses were procured, who swore that the venerable priest had been guilty of secret treason, and had nourished projects for destroying the reigning sovereign; what they swore to, the Jesuits instilled into the minds of ministers and people. Another Cyrillus, Bishop of Berea, became a willing instrument in their hands, already gloating over the anticipated Patriarchate; and soon overwhelmed by these fearful combinations, his piety not shielding, and his innocence not saving

him, Cyrillus Lucar in 1638 fell a victim to a plot, as infamous and relentlessly conducted as ever the merciless brood of Jesuits had carried to a bloody end.

After this impious triumph, obtained by the degenerate sons of Loyola over an enemy whose character stands out in relief, clearer and more noble from its very contrast with their base and fraudulent nature, the reconciliation of the two Churches seemed almost certain. But how can God bless an end obtained by such atrocious means? Can He, whose very name is mercy, justice and truth, sanction by even the most transient prosperity, a deed like this? The second Cyrillus perished by violence before he had been able to perform any of those promises of reform, of which he had been so prodigal while in treaty for rank and power; and his successor Parthenius shewed himself so resolutely hostile to any thing connected with Rome or a Jesuit, that the Pontiffs, seeing this portion of Europe thoroughly enlisted against them, gave up the attempt in despair; though for some time the Jesuits lingered on, hoping to worm themselves into the confidence of the Ottoman Court, without, however, any material result.

RUSSIA.

In 1580, John Basilides, Grand Duke of Muscovy, sent an embassy to Gregory XIII., in order to settle a project of uniting the Greek and Latin Churches; and Father Antonio Possevin, who played so conspicuous a part in the history of Sweden, was selected by the Romish Bishop to conduct the negotiations consequent on this important affair. But, unfortunately for the schemes of ambition which sprang at once into existence in the fertile brain of the crafty Jesuit, the motives which actuated the Russian began to ap-

pear. Like many another ruler, he had determined to make religion advance state policy, and through the assistance of the Pope, successfully conclude his war with Poland; and therefore contented himself with promising much and performing little; striving by every means in his power to maintain a friendly intercourse with Rome; and by always being on the eve of satisfying the Jesuit demands, blinded them to the manner in which they were being made use of as a political tool. Possevin was far too acute not to perceive instantly this deep-laid plan, and soon abandoned the idea of making any impression on a prince of so wily a nature. But, as no Jesuit ever could remain idle, he directed his energies, foiled in one place, to another sphere of labour. If Russia could not be converted, Poland might; and speedily there sprang up in Bresty, the metropolis of the Cujavian Palatinate, about 1596, a very strong movement in favour of Rome.

In 1594, Clement VIII. attempted again to subdue the obstinate resistance of the Czar; but, though he had chosen the Jesuit Cumuleo with great judgment, both from his natural abilities and acquaintance with the Russian tongue, the fierce answer of the Tartar sovereign was, that Moscow was the true orthodox Rome, and he, Boris Godunow, sole Christian ruler in the world.*

Not yet were the Jesuits baffled. The rise of that prince of impostors, who is best known by the name of the False Demetrius, incited them to fresh efforts; they procured his recognition by Sigismund of Poland; forced him, as the price of their secrecy, to embrace the Romish faith; supported him in every possible manner, and have even been suspected of making a favourable opportunity for urging his claim, by a timely removal of the existing ruler. For a

* Ranke's *History of the Popes*.

time, they seemed likely to do with Russia what they pleased. They had the command of a deadly secret, and could pull down in a moment from his lofty station the wretched charlatan they had exalted. Still, though the game seemed thus in their hands, it soon appeared that others could wrest it from them. The Russian populace disliked him and his Polish bride ; and soon, by one of those revolutions which happened continually in the early history of that savage race, Demetrius was hurled from his usurped authority, and with him the hopes of the Order departed.

JESUITS IN MADURA.

In the settlement at Madura, part of the Indian peninsula, within the Ganges, the Jesuits maintained a course, which though not scrupulously in accordance with the ordinary rules of missionary enterprise, was nevertheless attended by very successful and even lasting results. Robert de Nobili, an Italian Jesuit, perceiving that the Indians looked with the utmost abhorrence on all European merchants and travellers, while they paid an unusual respect to the traditions of their false god, determined to try a new method of overcoming their aversion to Christianity. Accordingly he devoted himself to the acquirement of a complete knowledge of their manners and religion ; and when,

by incessant study and observation, he imagined he had sufficiently prepared for his difficult and extraordinary plan, boldly proclaimed, (producing at the same time an old parchment forged for the occasion in support of the proclamation,) that the European order of Brahmins were much superior, both in antiquity of origin and purity of morals, to those of the Indian continent; and that the Jesuits or Brahmins of Rome descended in direct line, pure and uncontaminated, from the god Brahma in person. Moreover, to dissipate every doubt, he swore solemnly to the contents of this mysterious, antequely bound parchment document; and received great credit from his superiors for this piece of detestable fraud, by which he converted many thousands of the population.*

It was, however, no very easy task to be one of Nobili's followers; for the Jesuit Brahmin had plenty of austerities to go through, and required some little practice before he could conscientiously perform them all. Still, even here, their enemies have not hesitated to declare that their mortifications were entirely hypocritical, and that they kept as good tables, and enjoyed them as much, as other children of the race of Adam.

Their own authors, of course, give a very successful account of this mission, declaring that each missionary baptized about one thousand persons a year.†

It is but just, while alluding to the abominable deceit and intricate system of lies by which the Jesuits propagated that faith which they declared to be the only true one, to mention that the Popes did not encourage such base means;

* Jouvenci, *Hist. des Jesuites*; Norbert, *Memoires des Miss. de Malabar*; Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist.*

† *Travels of the Jesuits, or Lettres curieuses et edificantes*, tom. viii, p. 176, (*Editio Secunda*.)

and Benedict XIV. expressly declared it unlawful to extend the limits of the Christian Church by fraud or insidious devices.*

JESUITS IN SIAM.

ALEXANDER de Rhodes, native of Avignon, a man of sense and spirit, found the Siamese very friendly to the Christian religion, and in 1658, Alexander VII. determined to send out some French priests from the "Congregation of Foreign Missions," a sort of Papal Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. But the Jesuits bitterly resented their intrusion, being no doubt afraid that they would report to the head of the Church the very irregular means they chose to adopt, for increasing the number of his spiritual subjects. They persecuted the unhappy Frenchmen in the meanest and most cowardly manner, and absolutely refused to allow them to share in their labours, or partake of the advantages they had gained.† This contest between the ministers of the Christian religion raged with great fury from 1666 to 1681. In 1684, Louis XIV. sent an embassy under M. de Chaumont,

* This mandate is published in Mammachius *Orig. et Anti. Christian.*, tom ii., p. 245.

† Urban Cerri, Secretary of the Congregation, *De propaganda fide*, laments the perfidy, cruelty and ambition of the Jesuits; and regrets that, owing to the express orders of the Pope, he was obliged to pass over in silence the story of their abominable conduct towards the other missionaries. "Votre Saintete a ordonne qu'elles demeurassent sous le secret."—*Etat de l'Eglise Romaine*.

attended by men of science, especially of that kind which the King of Siam most delighted in, and a large body of Jesuits, to attempt the conversion of the hitherto obdurate monarch. But this embassy, though invited by Constantine Foulkron, the Prime Minister, himself a Greek Christian, effected little or nothing; and the reason apparently is, that the wily diplomatist had only enticed them over on false pretences, in order to confirm himself by their authority in that powerful position from which many of the native princes would have been only too glad to hurl him. His Majesty, Chaw Naraya, had no intention of changing his religion, which he declared had lasted 2,200 years, for so modern a creed as that preached by the Europeans; and it is to be presumed, that the Jesuits were deterred by the presence of the French Ambassador from, according to their usual practice, identifying the faith of Christ with the traditions of Paganism, and making the transition easy from one to the other.

Some of the King's answers to the French Ambassador may be interesting from their singularity. He asks, "Whether the true God, who created heaven and earth, and had bestowed such divine natures and inclinations on mankind, could not, if it had seemed good to him, have inspired them with the same religious sentiments and made them live and die in the same laws?" "But that he supposes that, since order among men and unity in religion depend absolutely on God, who could as easily introduce them into the world as the diversity of sects which prevail; it is natural to suppose He takes as much delight in being honoured by different forms of worship, as to be glorified by a prodigious number of his creatures, each in their several way;" and also enquires, "Whether that beauty and variety which we admire in the order of nature be less admirable in the order

of supernatural things, or less suitable to the wisdom of God ? ”

Under all these circumstances, and opposed by such deep arguments as these, the Jesuits almost despaired of accomplishing anything of importance. Still they did not finally abandon the attempt till 1688, when a Revolution, not so bloodless as our own the same year, cost the lives of the King and Minister, and the baffled preachers returned home.*

JESUITS IN CHINA.

FOUR religious orders started, nearly at once, in their race for converts, but not on the same principles : the Benedictines, Franciscans, Capuchins and Jesuits. Of these the three former, though differing slightly amongst themselves, proceeded on the general basis of ordinary missionary efforts, discouraging every particle of idolatry, and seeking, by the most stern morality, both in example and precept, to convince men of the purity and disinterestedness of their motives. But this was not expeditious enough for the Jesuits ; they must rapidly accomplish the conversion of the entire country ; and by what means ? By aiding the Chinese in their love of the exact sciences ; importing pupils from their European colleges, sedulously trained to meet their

* Mosheim *Eccles. Hist.* Tachard, *Prem. voyage de Siam ; Relation des voyages des Eveques Francaises.*

requirements; by flattering the prejudices of the Emperor and his priests; assuring them that most of the doctrines of the Romish Church and the tenets of Confucius were compatible, and had, indeed, once been the religion of the land; and by cultivating the society of every man of intellect, gradually worming themselves into the confidence of Sovereign and Court.

From about 1660 to 1669 they had to endure persecutions which even their skill in spiritual navigation could not avert: but after that time, a tide came in their favour; and the third Emperor with whom they had to deal perceived how much good they were capable of doing to his people, and made every concession to them that could be expected, actually allowing them to build a splendid church within the court of his imperial palace; while, in 1692, as if to shew that Christianity, even in a Jesuitical form, has power to engender humane and liberal opinions in every heart, the famous Edict was issued by the prince, in which he declared liberty of conscience to his people, at a time when, in Europe itself, it was hardly as yet understood.

The Jesuits are vehemently accused by the friends of the other orders of having made an impious mixture of the dark superstitions of the Chinese and the pure light of the Gospel, and of allowing those, whom they were pleased to call converts, to practise many rites and ceremonies totally incompatible with pure Christianity. Ricci,* the great Chinese Jesuit, declared that most of the Chinese services could be performed by his converts; and, to escape the reprobation he merited, declared that most of them were of a civil, not sacred nature—merely political, not religious.

* Ricci, when he died, declared that his death had been hastened by the incessant number of long dinners which he had been obliged to undergo in the pursuit of spiritual influence; almost reminding one of a celebrated epitaph on a *bon vivant*, "He dined late, and died early."

This being characterized by the Dominicans and Franciscans, as an odious equivocation, a long controversy ensued, which, though very interesting, yet, from its length, it is impossible to fairly analyze. The two great points, however, were; first, the acceptance by the Jesuits of the Chinese notion of the deity; the other, the nature of those honours paid by them to the deceased. The Chinese word Tien signifies Heaven; and the Jesuits declared this was equivalent to the Lord of Heaven, and that the Chinese deity was the same essentially as the One God. This, of course, by its self-apparent falsehood, laid them open to severe condemnation. On the second point, the older orders declared that the practice of the followers of Loyola, in allowing their converts to pay respect to the bodies of the dead and invoking and otherwise adoring them, was grossly heretical, (probably there is some unexplained difference between Chinese demi-gods and Roman saints); and pressed them so hard, that, driven from their original plea that they only allowed the political, not the religious observance, the Jesuits were fain to take refuge in the old, and happily exploded doctrine, that the end sanctifies the means, and that, if the conversion of the sinner can be obtained, it does not matter if Confucius and the Gospel are brought upon equal terms, and Christianity and superstition introduced gradually to each other, for the purpose of being ere long firmly allied.

In 1645, Innocent X. declared these practices of the Order to be infamous; Alexander III. virtually recalled that dictum; but Clement XI., in 1704, by a solemn edict, forbade all Christians to practise the religious rites of the Chinese, especially those relating to deceased worthies and their great dispensator Confucius.

JESUITS IN JAPAN.

THEIR labours in this country, where Xavier had so gloriously striven for the faith, during the beginning of the seventeenth century, prospered amazingly, and that from two reasons: the first being the contrast between the charity and devotion of the Jesuit Missionaries to the sick, especially leprous sufferers, and the brutal indifference, and even contempt, shown by the native priests for all such maladies, which they declared were punishments sent on them from heaven for their sins. The second and perhaps more important circumstance, as tending to convert the able-bodied and not the infirm portion of the empire, was the similarity of many customs and ideas in both the Japanese idolatry and the Romish Liturgy. The Bonzes claimed a power of canonizing, or rather elevating to the post of demi-gods the great followers of their precepts. They had convents for both sexes; used prayers for the dead; and even practised the duties of confession; so that a Japanese convert found in his new religion many of the same fantasies as in the one he had abandoned.

But in the year 1615, Christianity in Japan received a fearful blow, from which it has never recovered. An order was published by the supreme authorities, forbidding, under pain of death, the continuance of Christian religion. Multitudes of converts were slain rather than return to their detested creed; and the Jesuit Fathers, by their constancy under the most brutal tortures and unflinching energy in

the mournful task of supporting the minds of those who seemed likely in time of trouble to fall away, may in some measure atone for the not too scrupulous means by which they had won them to their cause. The reasons of this terrible persecution have never been satisfactorily made out. The Jesuits accuse the Dominicans and Franciscans; these retaliate on the Jesuits. The English and Dutch are also, and perhaps more probably, accused of instilling into the minds of the Japanese rulers, that the Jesuits, under the garb of piety, really cherished hopes of reducing the empire under the dominion of Spain; thinking most probably that if the Spaniards were ejected, all commercial matters would remain in their own hands. If such were their crafty scheme, it was speedily frustrated; for all Europeans, except a few score Hollanders, were for many years absolutely excluded.

JESUITS IN PARAGUAY.

HAVING traced the progress of the sons of Loyola through several countries where they had been guilty of many atrocious crimes; and shewed how entirely they yielded to the temptations of ambition; it is peculiarly refreshing to turn to that portion of their extensive missions, in which, for a considerable period, they remained pure and honest, striving only for the welfare of a confiding and generous people.

The fertile territory of South America was, so to speak, virgin soil. It had not been overrun by sects at war with each other, confusing the minds of those they intended to convert by inveighing against each other's peculiar doctrines, and incessantly regarding each other with the jealous eyes of restless ambition. The Jesuits were almost entirely masters of the situation; and resolved that no interference from any other order should contest that undivided sway which they, from the very first, determined to acquire over the New World. The early years of the seventeenth century witnessed their first endeavours; and soon five Archbishoprics, twenty-seven Bishoprics and four hundred convents rose into existence, as stately evidences of their energy, prudence and well-organized system of operations. At San Ildefonso they erected a Cathedral, equal in grandeur of design and gorgeousness of detail to some of the most famous edifices of mediæval Europe. But it was in Paraguay that they especially flourished. Here, for a long period, the name of European had been synonymous with tyranny, cruelty, avarice and injustice: the rough soldiers who followed the banners of Cortez and Pizarro were restrained by no sentiments of mercy from plundering, enslaving and exterminating what they were pleased, in their arrogance, to designate as an inferior race of mankind. The Jesuits were not slow in perceiving the general impression; and resolved that their virtues should shine the more brilliantly from the contrast afforded by the conduct of the discoverers of the land. Those, with whom they had to deal, were simple-minded and uncultivated in the extreme. The arts of civilized life were totally unknown to them, as also those numerous vices which, like pestilent parasites, infest the body of polished and refined society: hunting and fishing supplied their simple wants; and as they rarely congregated

in numbers sufficient to form even a small city, the intricate systems of law and police had no existence among them. They appear to have been a singularly amiable and gentle-natured people, capable of receiving the most enduring impressions of the holiness of the Gospel, though possessing a spirit and intelligence which rendered them formidable antagonists to those who attempted to oppress them.

Amongst this class of beings the Jesuit movement made swift advances. First of all, they devoted themselves to the temporal welfare of their Indian *protégés*; instructing them in the science of architecture; building cities for them, in order that they might be concentrated in numbers sufficient to be under control; framing sure and prudent codes of law, that, in those newly erected towns, sedition and anarchy should not raise their hateful presence to counteract the good they were founded to effect; and teaching them how to obtain artificial means of subsistence, that they might not return to their old habits, for lack of food and clothing. Gradually the untutored Indian mind realized the fact, that those who had come amongst them from the far land of Europe were actuated by no desire of plunder, or stimulated by worldly motives. They looked upon them as beings of a different creation: and when the zealous missionaries unfolded to them the mysteries of Christ's religion; when they saw the solemn and strikingly fascinating services of the Romish ritual celebrated before their wondering eyes, while the peal of mighty organs, hymning the praises of the Only God, awoke an echo in their hearts which had slumbered since the time when they were separated from the original "Sons of God;" who can wonder that they should have yielded implicitly to the commands of their spiritual fathers? Nor did the Order abuse the advantages thus rapidly acquired; they became the leaders in every

good work; at once the ministers of religion, healers of disease and arbiters of the rare disputes which might arise amongst them; affording a remarkable contrast to the unscrupulous proceedings of their brethren in China, India and Central Europe.

About 150,000 converts were admitted into the body of the Church; who, under the paternal rule of the Society, became an embodiment of Plato's model republic; and the visionary project of the old Grecian sage seemed likely to be brought to perfection in a land of which he had never had any conception. Equal were all who belonged to this Arcadian body: none were to labour, thinking to reap the fruits of their exertions or to aspire to increased wealth or influence: all was to be done for the common good. Public garners received the produce of the rich savannahs, and each received his appointed share. A few magistrates, chosen indiscriminately from Indians and Europeans, formed the administrative power, and ruled a great people more by love than fear; the punishment of death was never inflicted, and public rebuke, corporal chastisement and outward badges of misconduct sufficed to keep a gentle, childish race in submission.

Thus for a time they prospered; and one might almost suppose that the Golden Age had returned, and that in this favoured land were planted those seeds of holiness which should regenerate the nations still oppressed with misery and sin.

Now, however, as if the Supreme intended to shew how near to perfection human institutions may approach and yet fall into the errors they have been organized to correct, the time was drawing near for their fair prospects to be overclouded. Those Jesuits who had begun by deeds of holiness and self-denial, who had striven to guard against all the

temptations of ambition which might ensnare their converts, yielded themselves to the allurements they had dreaded for others. The thought entered their minds of founding a theocracy in America; a government subject to them alone, whose sovereign lord should be the head of the Romish Church, infallibly inspired by the Lord of all things. To render this great scheme possible, all connection with other Europeans must be cut off from the Indian proselytes: they must be taught to hate and despise the Spanish and Portuguese settlers, who would corrupt their minds with the taint of worldly ideas, and destroy the opportunity which, if lost, never would again return. This they strove to effect by forbidding them to learn any European language; by admitting no strangers into the territory, not even the Bishops and clergy of other Roman orders; while, in case of emergency, they applied themselves, with a diligence and ability almost incredible, to the novel task of raising, equipping and disciplining a formidable standing army.

But proceedings on such a gigantic scale could not pass unnoticed, even in that remote portion of the globe. Father Labat, a Dominican monk, whose order had been the sternest opponents of the company of Jesus, having acquired much information concerning their movements from personal experience, and still more from hear-say, concocted an alarming report of their ambition and increasing wealth and influence; adding, of course, many accusations of cruelty, avarice and false doctrine, which he would have found extremely difficult to substantiate. Now the storm was gathering in the heavens which was destined soon to uproot their landmarks and drive them away from that land where they had done, and where still planning to do, good for the cause of Christ. In 1730, Don Martin de Barua forwarded to the Court of Spain an account similar to that of Labat;

and though, by the strenuous efforts of the learned Muratori, many of his charges were proved to be unfounded, a deep feeling of suspicion rankled in the bosoms of the Spanish ministers and King; rendering them unlikely to be very scrupulous in their conduct towards the unfortunate rulers of the happy republic. In 1750, the cabinets of Lisbon and Madrid agreed to an exchange of several provinces on the borders of the Uruguay, which would have had the effect of breaking up that settlement of Jesuits which had planned and prayed for such mighty enterprises. In despair, the holy Fathers bethought them of their army, which had only just begun to assume a respectable appearance; and during the next two years were employed drilling and recruiting with all the ardour of veteran commanders. In 1752, Spain and Portugal sent an united force against them, and the Spanish general, Gomez Frierre Andrada, received orders from his court to proceed to the execution of the treaty. The luckless Jesuits determined to make a bold stand for their cherished hopes, and, at the head of a considerable body of Indians, awaited the attack: but their undisciplined valour availed them little against regular troops, and, especially, against well-served artillery; and, though the Spanish general was killed on the field, they could not maintain the unequal struggle, and were accordingly banished from the scene of the most honourable of all their varied missions. Their Indian subjects clung to them as they sailed away, wondering in their simple minds, how it could be, that those who had ever been benefactors and promoters of every thing calculated to advance the spiritual and temporal welfare of their flock, could ever be obnoxious to their fellow countrymen and Christians.

It was a remarkable fact, that instead of the vast riches which they were accused of having amassed by robbery and

deceit, only £2,000 could ever be discovered in their common fund. This ill-starred appeal to arms was one of the most powerful causes of their suppression, soon afterwards, in the Portuguese dominions.

“How prodigious was this world-wide range of missionary activity! forcing its way at once amid the Andes and the Alps; sending its scouts and pioneers to Scandinavia and Thibet; insinuating itself into the favor of the governments of England and China; yet, everywhere on this immense theatre, fresh, unbroken, indefatigable; the impulse at work in its centre animating, with intense vivacity, every labourer on the outermost bounds.”*

CORRUPT DOCTRINES OF THE ORDER.

IN order to understand clearly the causes which led to the suppression of this marvellous Society, it is especially useful to consider those false and dangerous, nay, often impious and abominable doctrines, which deprived them of the support of all pious minds, and determined sovereigns and peoples to expel them, as they would men afflicted with leprosy or the plague. It will not be necessary for this purpose to consider more than the leading abuses, namely:—

- I. Doctrine of Probability.
- II. Philosophical Sin.
- III. Mental Reservation and Equivocation.
- IV. Homicide.
- V. High Treason and Regicide.

* Ranke's *History of the Popes*.

As it is impossible to even allude to the unutterable sensuality of their opinions on the subject of licentiousness ; so it is not edifying to follow the different methods by which they explained away the sins of simony, theft, idolatry and impiety, until they assumed the form of venial transgressions, and even, under peculiar circumstances, praiseworthy virtues. I shall, therefore, simply define the leading doctrines in turn ; and quote, from some of their principal Casuists, the way in which they were set before the minds of the young members.

I. DOCTRINE OF PROBABILITY.

An opinion may be followed with a good conscience, when inculcated by several, or even *one* doctor of good repute, even though contrary to the opinion of him who follows, and even of him who recommends it. "It is evident," says the learned Mosheim, "that this rule enables the Jesuit to accommodate himself to all the passions of mankind, and to all persons and characters, however austere or licentious."

"(1.) It is lawful to follow the less probable opinion of another, in opposition to our own more probable opinion, which we still retain. (2.) It is lawful to *change* a probable opinion and act according to an opposite one on the same subject. (3.) Even at the point of death it is lawful to follow a probable opinion, rejecting the more probable."—Matthew Stoz, *Tribunal Pœnitentiæ*, 1756.

"(1.) Although one opinion may be more probable and safe, and may seem so to you ; though you may not abandon your opinion in *theory*, you may in *practice*, following the less probable. That opinion is said to be safer, in which there is either no possibility of sin, or in which a less evil is chosen to avoid a greater. (2.) Doctors may lawfully give advice contrary to their opinion, by following that of

another. (3.) A confessor may absolve according to the probable opinion of the penitent, in opposition to his own, and is even bound to do so—*imò et tenetur*.”—Simon de Lessau, *Propositions dictées dans le Collège des Jesuites d’Amiens*, 1655-56.

“(1.) He does not sin who follows a probable opinion, *rejecting the more probable*; whether the latter be the opinion of others or of the agent himself; and whether the less probable opinion which he follows be the safer or the less safe. (2.) The confessor is not bound to consider *the advantage of a third person*; and the penitent will not sin in following a probable opinion, even in withholding restitution.”—Nich. Baldel, *Disput. e Morali Theologiâ*, 1637.

“(1.) It is lawful to follow the more probable opinion, *rejecting the less probable, although it may be the more safe*. An instance: a man doubts his right to retain any thing he holds in his possession. The more probable opinion is, that he is *not bound* to restore it, yet it is *more safe* if he does. (2.) It is lawful to follow the *less probable* opinion, though the *less safe*; neither is it necessary to be *certain* of acting rightly, for then it would not be lawful to follow the more probable but less safe opinion.”—Vincent Filliucius, *Moralium Quæstionum de Christianis Officiis et Casibus Conscientiæ, ad formam cursûs qui prælegi solet in Coll. Rom. Soc. Jes.*, 1633.

“Of two contrary probable opinions *every one may follow in practice that which he may prefer*, though it appear less probable in theory. A learned doctor may give contrary advice to different persons, according to contrary probable opinions, whilst he still preserves discretion and prudence.”—Paul Laymann, *Theol. Moralis*, 1627.

“A confessor may absolve a penitent, who, of two probable opinions, chooses to maintain the less so; even though

he will not acquiesce in the confessor's opposite and safer decision."—Valerius Reginald, *Praxis Fori Pœnitentialis*, 1620.

"If a judge should think each opinion equally probable, he may *lawfully* pronounce sentence favourable to his friend. *He may, moreover, with the intent to serve his friend*, at one time judge according to one opinion, and at another, according to the contrary; provided no scandal ensue."—Gregory of Valentia, *Comm. Theol.*, 1609.

"In practice, *prudently* and *probably* are synonymous. He, therefore, who forms a probable judgment upon the probability of an opinion, forms a prudent judgment; and he who receives advice, only desires an opinion which is probably probable; and if a probably probable opinion should induce a doubt, a certainly probable one would induce it also."—John Marin, *Theol. Moral*, 1720.

"If a penitent should err, only in the opinion of his confessor, and err unquestionably; but still pursue an opinion truly probable, *his confessor is not obliged to reprove him*, neither can he deprive him of the right which he possesses of following a probable opinion; *and he should be judged according to it by the confessor, if he choose to persevere in it*. After he has heard him, he is bound to absolve him; the resolution of adhering to a *truly probable opinion*, although the contrary may be more probable, or more safe, or more remote from sin, not being in itself a sufficiently valid reason for deferring it."—John Martinon, *Disp. Theol. de Pœnitentiâ*, 1646.

II. THE DOCTRINE OF PHILOSOPHICAL SIN.

This teaches that an action the most criminal in itself, offends against reason but does not displease God nor deserve damnation, if the agent who commits it knows not

God, or does not actually think of Him, or does not reflect that he offends Him.

“(1.) Invincible ignorance is that of a man who does all he can to surmount it. (2.) But it is vincible when he omits any thing he ought to do to conquer it. In the first case it is probable ignorance : in the second, improbable.”—John de Salas, 1607.

“Sanchez and Vasquez are right, that for an action to be sin, *it is necessary for the agent to reflect, or have reflected, on the danger of the sin* ; otherwise it is either no sin, or only an imperfect sin ; as in the case of those who, through excess of sorrow, commit suicide.”—Paul Laymann, *Theol. Moral.*, 1627.

“An action contrary to natural and Divine law is not sinful, except as far as the agent knows it to be sin,—as when a man, being drunk, commits murder or fornication.”—Vincent Filliucius, 1625.

“Theft may be venial through lack of thought ; for some are so habituated to it, that they do not reflect : the same thing may happen through the violence of the temptation, when the theft is committed with such haste that there is no time for deliberation.”—John de Dicastille, *De Justitiâ et Jure*, 1641.

“Things committed inadvertently, are neither sins nor the cause of sin, and need not therefore be confessed.”—Thos. Tamburin, *Methodus Expeditæ Confessionis*, 1659.

“Wherever there is no knowledge of crime, there is, of necessity, no sin. For instance ;—one man kills another, believing it to be only a venial transgression ; *such a man does not greatly sin*, because it is knowledge alone that points out the grossness of it to the will ; therefore criminality is according to the measure of knowledge. For it would be unworthy the goodness of God, to reject a man for

a sin in which he had not fully deliberated ; but if reflection has only been partial, deliberation has not been complete ; therefore the sin is not mortal.”—Geo. de Rhodes, *Disput. Theol. Schol.*, 1671.

“Sin, however gross, committed by a man invincibly ignorant, is not mortal ; for since this sin does not comprehend any virtual contempt of God, it may exist with perfect charity and the friendship of God : whence it follows, that the heinousness of this sin would be a philosophical heinousness.”—James Platel, *Synopsis Cursûs Theologici*, 1678.

“Personal sin ought to be freely willed ; but this it cannot be without some thought of moral wickedness ; and the thought of pleasant or useful good which may be inherent in the object, is not sufficient ; since temporal advantage or utility are very different from moral good and evil, and are of a perfectly distinct nature.”—Georgelin, *Censura Sacræ Facultatis Theologiæ Nannetensis*, 1719.

Censure.—It is evident that this doctrine, which teaches that there is no sin without forethought of moral wickedness, is scandalous, erroneous, and devised to fabricate excuses for sin.

III. PERJURY, MENTAL RESERVATION AND EQUIVOCATION.

“It is not a mortal sin to swear that you will *not* do that which it is better to do ; nor if you swear a false oath as to words, but true in reference to the meaning of the enquirer ; as that you had not spoken to such a man, *meaning* on the subject he supposes. Moreover, since you are not bound to mean according to the meaning of the enquirer, so you may, according to your own.”—Emmanuel Sa, *Aphorismi. Confessariorum*, 1590.

"It is not intrinsically wrong to equivocate upon oath ; hence it is not perjury ; for to equivocate is not to lie ; therefore to confirm it by an oath is not perjury : because a lie is a declaration contrary to the sense of the speaker. But he who uses words ambiguous, according to his own meaning, does not lie ; whence to confirm them by an oath is not perjury ; because, by that oath, God is not called to witness a lie, since it is not a lie."—Francis Suarez, *Operis de Virtute et Statu Religionis*, 1614.

"A man who is urged to marry a woman whom he is not compelled to marry, may swear he will take her, by understanding within himself, *when I am obliged*. Neither would he sin mortally, who, from reverence for an oath, should feign to swear so that the bystanders might think that he did swear."—Thos. Sanchez, 1614.

"There is no compulsion to swear according to the meaning of a judge. Therefore equivocation and mental reservation may be used."—Leonard Lessius, *De Justitiâ et Jure*, 1628.

IV. PARRICIDE AND HOMICIDE.

"I may desire my father's death, either as an *evil* to my father, which is not lawful, or as a *good* to myself, which is ; for then I abstract his death, and rejoice only in the good of which it is the cause. *This should be familiarly known*, since it is constantly occurring to all those who desire good, only to be attained by another's death ; as in every station in peace or war, and in ecclesiastical dignities."—Charles Anthony Casnedi, *Crisis Theologica*, 1719.

"If Caius have poisoned some wine and placed it before Sempronius to destroy him, but Titus drink it in ignorance, and Caius allow him lest his crime be detected, Caius is no homicide ; because the death of Titus was not willed by

Caius, who was not bound to prevent it by exposing himself to great danger.”—Busenbaum and Lacroix, *Theologia Moralis*, 1724.

“If an adulterer, even though an ecclesiastic, reflecting upon the danger, has entered the house of his paramour, and being attacked by the husband, kills him in defence of life and limb, *he is not considered irregular*.”—Henry Henriquez, *Summæ Theologiæ Moralis*, 1600.

“If you are preparing to give false evidence against me, by which I should be sentenced to death, and I have no other means of escape, *it is lawful for me to kill you, since I should otherwise be killed myself*; for it would be immaterial whether you killed me with your own sword or with that of the executioner.”—Valerius Reginald, *Praxis Fori Pœnitentialis*.

V. HIGH TREASON AND REGICIDE.

“Rebellion of an ecclesiastic is not treason, because he is not subject to the King. He who tyrannically governs an empire which he has justly obtained, may not be deposed without trial; but when sentence has been passed (by the Pope) any man may execute it.”—Emmanuel Sa, *Aphor. Confess.*, 1590.

“All Kings who have submitted to the mild yoke of Christ should yield to the authority of the Church and her pastors. Therefore *the people are not only permitted, but required*, at the mandate of the Vicar of Christ, to renounce the allegiance formerly sworn.”—John Bridgwater, *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ in Angliâ adversus Calvinio-Papistas*, 1594.

“In commanding St. Peter ‘to feed His sheep,’ Christ gave to him and his successor the Pope, power to drive away wolves and all animals obnoxious to the sheep; where-

fore the shepherd may depose the ram from his empire over the flock, if he infect the sheep with contagion, or attack them with his horn.”—Alphonso Salmeron, 1604.

“The life of a tyrant must evidently be wretched when held upon this tenure, that he who should kill him would be highly esteemed. It is a glorious thing to exterminate this race from the community of men. For mortifying members are cut off the body, lest they destroy the whole. So should the cruelty of that beast, in the form of man, be removed from the state as from a body, and be severed from it with a sword. There is doubt whether it is lawful to kill a tyrant by poison. It will, in my opinion, be lawful to use this method:—not to constrain the person to be killed to take, voluntarily, that poison which shall deprive him of life; but to cause it to be applied outwardly by another, without his intervention; as when it may be spread on his seat or on his clothes, being sufficiently powerful to cause death.”*—John Mariana, *De Rege et Regis Institutione*, 1605.

“Princes are bound to obey the command of the Pope as the word of Christ; and if they resist, he can punish them as rebellious persons; and if they undertake any thing against the Church and the glory of Christ, he may deprive them of their empire and kingdom, or he may transfer their dominions to another prince, and absolve their subjects from their allegiance which they owe to them, and from the oath which they have sworn. That the word of the Lord which he spake to Jeremiah the prophet may be true when applied to the Roman pontiff—‘*Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth: See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to*

* It was by this latter method that Squire attempted Queen Elizabeth’s life, urged on by the Jesuit Walpole.—Rapin *Hist. Eng.*, vol. II., book xvii., p. 148, fol. 1733.

destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant.'"—
Alphonso Salmeron,* *Comm. in Evang. Hist.*, tom. iv.,
1602.

These Doctrines, taken, almost at random, from a large collection published in *The Principles of the Jesuits*, London, 1839, may throw some light on the reasons for the general indignation which has been so rightly excited against the deceitful sons of Ignatius Loyola.

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ORDER.

THE decline of an institution which had thus rapidly interwoven itself with the traditions of statesmen and all the various intrigues, as well unimportant, as more lasting, of so many Courts, may be traced as far back as the middle of the seventeenth century: and there are many indications of this in the actual condition of the Society itself. From one reason and another, the same class of minds could not be enlisted in their service. Religious enthusiasm became a dream of days gone by: men were approaching that practical philosophy which is exemplified most strongly in the present day; they would not subject themselves to the

* One of the original members of the Order.

strict discipline enjoined by Ignatius, neither would they humbly acquiesce in the decisions of their Superiors. They became more and more independent; slighted the holy vow of poverty; and, under pretence of supporting their colleges, were no longer content to look with pious pity on the earth-ennets piling up their hoards of perishable wealth, but must even enter the lists themselves; and when they had, by superior shrewdness, acquired riches, luxurious living and elegant indolence, all the more seductive from its literary nature, followed in due course. They could not disturb their cultivated minds by the fatigues and drudgery of educating the young; therefore that most important part of the duties presented by their constitution must be left to the junior members, whose pupils became rebellious, and that from two reasons. In the first place; of old, all their instruction had been given gratuitously, and a rigid discipline enforced; but now, scholars were, if sons of rich men, expected to contribute handsomely to the funds of the colleges; and therefore became much more independent in their conduct. In fact, a Jesuit teacher, having struck one of these young men with a cane, was immediately poniarded; a prefect at Gubbio was actually murdered for a similar deed. The second cause was, that the scholars plainly perceived how little obedience the rectors, provincials and coadjutors paid to their supreme ruler, and naturally copied, in their small world, the actions of the outer universe. This surely must have appeared to all intelligent men a bad prospect for the future; and it cannot be wondered at, when we read that already men began to predict the gradual downfall of an Order which had so strayed from its original well-considered rules.

Still, though in Venice they had met with a very remarkable defeat, and had utterly failed in England and

Sweden, their cause was on the whole well supported : and had they had a leader capable of directing their energies wasted on petty intrigues, or on more than useless mercantile transactions, they might have regained the position they were just beginning to let slip. But Mateo Vitelleschi, though as amiable, pious and generous a man as ever superintended a religious body, had neither the firmness of mind, nor the knowledge of the baser passions of mankind, which are requisite for the effectual government of any large society. He could do little more than entreat ; and when his entreaties were disregarded, suffered his last protest against the corruptions of the dress of his Order, as much rejected as his other edicts, to prey upon his mind to such an extent that in 1645 he abandoned a life which latterly had been full of mortifying failures, in sincere hope of obtaining that rest above, which was denied to him on earth. Vincenzo Caraffa, 1645 to 1649, and Piccolomini, 1649 to 1651 ; the first by his natural humility, the second by his servile submission to the wishes of those he ought to have commanded, did nothing to raise the Order from the sluggishness creeping upon it. Neither could the next two Generals, Alessandro Gottofredi, in 1651, and Goswin Nickel, do anything worthy of being recorded. The only attempt of the latter at reformation brought such a storm upon him that he was fain to relinquish it ; and even had the inexpressible humiliation of having a Vicar associated with him, a creature of the Pope's, who was eventually to succeed. When Oliva, this Vicar-coadjutor, assumed the functions of the successors of Ignatius and Francis Borgia, he did more harm than good. Exceedingly luxurious ; refined, certainly, as far as Art collections and literary patronage was concerned, but grossly sensual ; those faculties which should have been devoted, in pursuance of his solemn vow, to the maintenance of the

discipline and working of his society, he lavished on antique statues and beautiful specimens of exotic plants. Under him, too, another abuse crept in, which had never before dared to shew itself. Whereas, by oath, the proposed brother has to surrender all his property to the society when admitted; now, under the new system, this renunciation was deferred longer and longer; until at length many Jesuits possessed their own private incomes.

With the first years of the eighteenth century, the symptoms of the fall of this mysterious society began to assume a very threatening aspect. They were powerful still; but the means by which this power was supported, were, as may be seen by reference to their doctrines, rotten at the core, and not sufficiently honest, nor even politically sound enough, to ensure any lasting prosperity.

The Court of the Grand Monarque, illustrious for its assemblage of genius, both literary and scientific, military and political, had been nearly entirely ruled by the confessors of that extraordinary sovereign. It was the longest reign in the history of France; year after year rolled on, and still the cause of Papal dominion made fast strides, though there were many men of mighty talent, as Voltaire, D'Alembert and many others, who saw through the thin veil of hypocrisy and dissimulation which had become identified with the very name of Jesuit. The society, nevertheless, flourished in a manner which, looking back on it with unprejudiced views, we are unable to perfectly realize. But the tide of free ideas and unfettered thoughts began to burst through their borders: one rude wave after another dashed in full force against them; and though it might return, baffled and hissing with suppressed fury, to the ocean, many another rolled onwards to supply its place. Their colleges no longer sent forth soldiers disciplined in all the

intricate manœuvres of polemical warfare: mind succeeded mind in the attack against corrupt matter: defeat became common. Open to the gravest charges and unable to oppose the bold front of innocence to their antagonists; looked upon with well-grounded suspicion by princes and ministers; the whole body began to quiver at its base and totter towards its fall.

After the death of Louis XIV. they found allied against them the heads of government in four Catholic States—Choiseul in France, Wall and Squillace in Spain, Tanucci in Naples, and the ambitious Carvalho in Portugal—men firmly resolved to achieve the subjection of spiritual power to political rule; and, from their first-rate talents and pursuance of a species of policy strictly in accordance with the revolutionary spirit which began to diffuse itself over Europe, adversaries of no common nature.

The Jesuits have ever declared that their decline and fall was caused by a coalition, in which the Cabinet of France and the exponents of French philosophy, or, as they are technically called, the Encyclopædists, were banded together. But this does not appear the correct view for us to take of their position. The small and, comparatively speaking, obscure kingdom of Portugal, where the Order had arrived at more widely extended influence and command over men's consciences than in any other nation in Europe, was destined to witness the first reverse that betokened their approaching ruin. They had entered the country in 1540, at a time when the decadence of the monarchy was beginning; and though, perhaps, they did not at first contribute to its ruin, still it was unfortunate for their real power. Portugal had been much more wealthy and respected; but towards the middle of the eighteenth century rapidly declined. The Jesuits' bitterest enemy on the wide face of

Europe was then rising into eminence and directing the machinery of the Cabinet of Lisbon. Sebastian Carvalho, Marquis de Pombal, descended from a family of respectable but *bourgeois* origin, had the boldness to wed, in defiance of the anger of the nobility, one of their order—one of the much vaunted *sangre azul* of Portugal; and, as a matter of course, found himself opposed at all points by their haughtiness and ill-disguised contempt. Pombal had been *Chargé d'affaires* in London, and there had learnt how great and glorious was England; free alike from the arrogance of a proud and ignorant nobility, and the intriguing conspiracies of Jesuitism; and the ambitious politician determined to rise superior, in his own land, to those ties which had long fettered the councils of his predecessors. His turn soon came; and if Joseph I. was the Louis XIII. of Portugal, no less was Pombal his Cardinal de Richelieu. As regarded the overthrow of the nobles, Ximenes in Spain, and the Cardinal Minister, Jean Armand du Plessis in France, had already shewn the way; but no one had yet openly attacked the Jesuits. Many charges have been brought against this great statesman; connecting his hostility to the Order with some private piques: it does not, however, seem that in the beginning of his career he was influenced by any other motives than the public welfare. They had raised him to power and were not unfriendly to him; but he perceived their fatal influence on the well being of the state. Now, however, darker motives seem to have guided his determined mind. Donna Eleonora, Marchioness de Tavora, one of the proudest dames of Portugal, had a daughter; and as if to prove the old adage that a woman is generally concerned in every *contretemps*, so fell it out in the present instance. Pombal, the *novus homo*, aspired to the possession of that daughter for his son and heir: he

sued and was repulsed. That simple refusal which, perhaps, has been dealt out to many of us at divers times, produced on this occasion results which will outlast the memory of those who so haughtily rejected. The whole *sangre azul* boiled with a sudden rage : Pombal was hated and despised, as a presumptuous upstart, by the old nobility ; and the Jesuits joined the cry. The great statesman did not hesitate : with a decision worthy of Richelieu himself, he caused the family of Tavora and the Duke d'Alverio, their friend and partizan, to be arrested in 1758, from the following causes. The King, Joseph I., had established Donna Teresa, wife of the young Marquis de Tavora, in the position occupied by Mdlle. de Pompadour at his neighbour's Court ; and, as he was returning from a festivity at her house, was shot at and wounded in the arm. Thereupon the above-mentioned arrests took place. The Duke d'Alverio and the Marquis de Tavora, husband of the monarch's mistress, the heads of the family, and several Jesuits, were charged with the instigation of the crime. Donna Teresa herself was not implicated ; for the King was of a constitution not likely to abandon one he loved so ardently to the punishment of a, by no means proven, crime. On the 13th January, 1759, the Duke d'Alverio, his servants, and Donna Eleonora, were severally broken on the wheel, burnt alive, and beheaded. Malagrida, who had confessed one of the party, was placed in the dungeons of the Inquisition, and, after a long period, handed over to the Auto-da-fe.*

Pombal continued his attack on the ill-fated Order, declaring that he did not feel any dislike to their principles, but only that they would not adhere to them in the purity

* Voltaire said that here excess of horror was mingled with excess of ridicule, and that it was absurd to condemn a man for heresy accused of treason.—*Siecle de Louis XV.*, vol. xxv.

with which they were formed by St. Ignatius; and it is curious to find this implacable enemy of their prospects boasting that he had joined the third rank of the body.

Cardinal Rezzonica had just lately succeeded Benedict XIV., under the name of Clement XIII.; and Pombal, who was well acquainted with the weak mind of the new Pontiff, wrote to ask permission for the banishment of the Society of Jesus; and, without waiting for the answer, expelled them from mainland and colony, island and royal palace; sending them in every available vessel to the coast of Italy. The Pope burnt the manifesto of the old statesman; he, in his turn, confiscated the revenues of the Order. Strange to say, though many nations, strictly Papist, looked on with indifference at these proceedings, Protestant England protested; regarding the loss which her trade suffered by the ruin of the society, more than the triumph of reason over a corrupt priesthood.

In 1766, that curious disturbance at Madrid, historically known as *l'émeute des chapeaux*, contributed to the downfall of the Jesuits. Large hats, with broad brims, were the fashion in that lively city: but Charles III. determined to abolish them, and also the large cloaks which the Spanish cavalier had ever been celebrated for using, both as a graceful addition to his dress and also as a shield in case of disturbances. Out of the dissatisfaction caused by the arrest of one or two hatted and coated hidalgos, there arose a great tumult; and though the King tried, like Louis XVI., to address the mob from a balcony, it was without effect. When all methods had been tried and failed, the Jesuits were appealed to; and soothed the infuriated multitude with such wonderful ease, that they were rather harshly suspected of having created the original *fracas*, and this circumstance was carefully recorded against them.

The Duc de Choiseul urged in the Cabinet of Madrid, not at all averse to listen with favouring ears, the necessity of banishing the Order of Jesus; and suddenly, in 1767, the Jesuits were expelled by Royal Edict from all territories, foreign and domestic, of the Most Catholic King. The resolute conduct of the Spanish Minister, D'Aranda, had carried all before it; on the same day* the despatches containing the edict were opened in every portion of the Spanish empire; and the fulfilment of it was exceedingly harsh. Six thousand priests, young and old, illustrious by birth, and objects of pity from infirmity, were alike *déportés*, (to use the Napoleonic phraseology,) to the isle of Corsica; where they found an asylum very unwillingly allowed them by the French authorities, who were hard put to it to feed the existing population of the isle which produced Napoleon.

In January, 1767, the war, which for seven years had desolated the continent, was over; and the affairs of both Germany and the Italian states were in a more tranquil condition than had been known for many years.

Ferdinand IV., of Naples, whose minority had just expired, signalized his entry on a new phase of existence by a most important step—the expulsion of the followers of Ignatius Loyola from all quarters of his dominions—acting under the advice of his father, the King of Spain. In the dead of night, November 3rd, every house, containing Jesuits, in the kingdom of Naples, whether college, convent, or private dwelling, was burst open; and every member thus discovered marched off to the nearest port, with no greater amount of this world's treasure than the clothes he stood upright in. Probably this compulsory and sudden fulfilment of their neglected vow of poverty caused them as much inconvenience as it would have done to more ordinary mortals. In this

* 2nd April, 1767.

country, their confiscated property was devoted to charity—a proceeding by no means common amongst the crown advisers of that unscrupulous race; and though some remembered how much good they had rendered to the cause of education, most heads of families considered their intriguing, meddling fraternity as well abolished.

Despite the threats and entreaties of Pope Clement XIII., the Duke of Parma followed the example of his kinsmen of Spain and Naples.

Notwithstanding all these vigorous measures on the part of the most powerful Roman Catholic States, the idea of suppressing a society which had done such important service to the Papal see, and whose world-wide missions bore witness to their zeal in the cause of Christianity, had not entered the minds of any of the Vatican conclave. What they aimed at was simply, thoroughly to reform their abuses, strip them of their enormous wealth and debar them henceforth from meddling in the affairs of state. Had Benedict XIV. lived, this, doubtless, would have been accomplished. A man of great resolution, piety and tact, he would have guided the progress of events in such a manner, that, while reserving the institution as a valuable bulwark of his authority, he would, at the same time, have so remodeled their rules and abridged their pretensions, as to have enabled them to exist in security, though shorn of some portion of their extravagant assumption. But when he died, and Clement XIII. succeeded; though, at first sight, he appeared to favor them in every way, and was really attached to their principles, his very wish to support them proved their ultimate ruin. His sole aim was the glory of his Church, the conversion of every heretic, and the re-establishment of the Roman see in all the majesty of the days of Hildebrand. To effect this, he relied, amongst other means, on the docile

band of Jesuits; and trusted that, by dexterous management, they might weather the storm gradually bursting round them. These endeavours were fruitless, and Clement was reluctantly compelled to remain inactive; while his holy authority itself was attacked by the enemies of that body he strove to protect.

If there had been at the head of the sons of Ignatius a General like Laynez or Accquaviva, he would have found some means of accommodating himself to the position of affairs. But Lorenzo Ricci stubbornly refused to alter one particle of the rules or traditions handed down to him from more prosperous times: "*Sint ut sunt, aut non sint*," was his stern reply to any entreaties, though made even by their own members, for a modification of their tenets, or a careful revision of their doctrines. The end was near at hand: Clement threatened and besought, but alike in vain; the voice of popular indignation was raised up against them and drowned the once awful thunders of the Papal see. The disheartened Pontiff turned to Maria Theresa in his dismay, who answered with a biting sarcasm;* and, dismayed at these numerous calamities, he became ill, and died in convulsions, 1769. The Jesuits were not backward in asserting that Clement XIII. had been carried off by poison; but the almost unanimous opinion of historians has been, that the numerous shocks he had received, acting on a constitution never robust, produced those convulsions which terminated in an apoplectic fit.

As soon as this unfortunate Pontiff was laid in his gorgeous tomb, and while the solemn strains of the requiem yet lingered in the ears of the Roman citizens, all the force

* The Empress returned the answer once given to Ferdinand by Maffeo Barberini, Pope Urban VIII.; "that the affair was one of state policy, not of religion, and that she should do amiss in entering into it."—Ranke's *Hist. Popes*.

of diplomacy was concentrated on the approaching election of his successor. The Ambassadors of Spain and France were instructed to secure the choice of some Cardinal who should be opposed to the Jesuits and willing to agree to the policy marked out by their respective Courts. Ricci the General hurried hither and thither, lavishing the ill-got treasures of his Order in bribing every influential person of either sex to the support of his tottering cause. While these measures were being vigorously pursued by the contending parties, Joseph of Austria arrived in the Eternal City, without attendance or any imperial pomp; but solely to see with his own eyes the progress of events, and judge for himself the policy he should espouse. His first words to Ricci augured ill for that daring General's hopes. He demanded of him, "when he intended to relinquish the habit of his Order?" While the terrified Jesuit stammered out an incoherent reply, the Austrian monarch, gazing at the splendid shrine of Ignatius, blazing with jewels and formed of massive silver, exclaimed against the immense sum it must have cost. "Sire," replied Ricci, "it was erected by the friends of the Society." "Say rather," replied Joseph, "with the profits of the Indies."*

When this momentous season had passed, and Lorenzo Gunzanelli had been elected by the combined forces of France and Spain, it was evident to the eyes of all men that the days of Jesuitism had ceased for ever. This Pontiff, who has sometimes had the epithet Protestant applied to him, as soon as he had assumed the name of Clement XIV., decided that there was no possibility of avoiding the suppression of the once mighty Order of Jesus. Nation after nation had exiled them; the Cabinets of the chief Romanist Courts of Europe urged him to do the same; while

* Count Alexis de Saint Priest, *Fall of the Jesuits*.

even from the states of the Church, where they had established themselves as the confessors of fathers, directors of mothers and tutors of children, the cry for suppression welled up to his very throne. Educated in the schools of the Franciscans, the bitterest and, perhaps, the most respectable of the Jesuit foes; in every way opposed to their theology and internal discipline; it is very much to the credit of one who disliked them so intensely and saw so clearly how much incalculable harm they had done, both to the cause of his Church and the system of political and social morals, that he should have suspended all active measures, until, for four years, he had carefully examined their history, constitutions, and recognized principles of action. Nay more; in his scrupulous and conscientious inquisition, he took into account the very characters and private habits of the chiefs of the guilty body. After this long respite, during which, however, they must have foreseen the inevitable issue, Clement XIV. pronounced, on the 21st July, 1773, that memorable Bull by which the body which had long played a part in almost every political drama was finally abolished:—"Inspired by the Divine Spirit; urged by the duty of restoring concord to the Church; convinced that the society of Jesus can no longer effect those purposes for which it was founded; and moved by other motives of religion and prudence, which we keep locked in our own bosom; we abolish and annul the society of Jesus, its offices, houses and institutions."* After this brief had been signed, Clement, gazing on the document, exclaimed, "There lies the act of suppression! I do not repent of what I have done; I did not resolve until I had well weighed it; I would do it again: but this act will be

* "Le bref est redigé de manière à ne point flétrir la Compagnie. Il est remarquable que la suppression est prononcée, non pour les torts, mais à cause des accusations portées contre elle."—De Tocqueville, *Louis XV.*, vol. ii., p. 352.

my death-blow.*” The immediate consequences of this brief, usually cited as *Dominus ac Redemptor*, was the confiscation of all property belonging to the Order and the arrest of Father Ricci. That stubborn priest was imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, and treated with a degree of rigour both useless and derogatory to the dignity of the sovereign Pontiff.

And now we approach the last extraordinary story of this most marvellous body. Rumours began to be circulated of Clement’s failing health; the ex-Jesuits especially repeated them; and a fanatic woman of Valentano, Bernardini Beruriz,† expressly foretold his speedy death. These different portents alarmed Clement himself: he had always been apprehensive of the malice of the dissolved Order; and gradually he sunk into a state of consumption. On 17th August, 1774, the Ministers of the great powers, who were admitted to an audience with him, started at the change in his appearance. No longer hearty, robust and full of the conscious power of intellect, they beheld him emaciated, weak and vacillating: he rapidly became worse: vomiting, inflammation in the throat and impaired rest and appetite, pointed unmistakeably to the influence of poison. His temper, which was remarkable for its gentleness, became suspicious and irritable. Believing he was poisoned, he deluged himself with antidotes; his mind yielded to the horrors of his situation; his body became corrupt and his blood vitiated; while his only form of devotion consisted in kneeling before an image of the Madonna, shrieking out in agonizing tones, “*Mercy! mercy! compulsus feci;*” which has been generally interpreted as referring to the suppression

* “*Questa suppressione mi dara la morte.*”—Saint Priest.

† She used these mysterious initials, P. S. S. V. (*Presto sara Sede vacante*): the Papal see will soon be empty.—Saint Priest.

of the Jesuits. After six months* of this misery, on the 22nd September, 1744, he recovered the use of his disordered intellect, and his soul departed from its nearly decomposed casket. Several days before, his bones had exfoliated and withered. Those whose duty it was to embalm him, found all the usual nauseating symptoms of poison. They filled the body with all the spices they could procure; but the stench, horrible and contaminating, was not diminished. When his robes were removed the skin adhered to them; the very hair of his head clung to the pillow; and, on being touched, the nails of his fingers dropped on the ground. But enough: the *aqua Toffana* of Peruggia, and the *arquetta*, a Calabrian drug, have been named as the means; the malice of the Jesuits almost invariably asserted to be the motive power.

So perished, within eight months of each other, the Order of Jesus and the Pontiff who courageously suppressed it. It is not within the limits I have defined, to pursue the machinations of the body till they were re-instituted by Pius VI., or to trace their retreat to Prussia and Russia; but to leave them, with this last crime accomplished, and their well-deserved doom authoritatively pronounced.

* The novel-reader will remember the chapter on Poisons in *Monte Christo*, and the distinction there made between dying of poison and the production by poison of an actual disease.

APPENDIX.

CONSTITUTIONS OF THE JESUITS.

Admission.

The power of admission belongs entirely to the persons appointed by the General.

Qualifications.

Generally, fitness is in proportion to endowment with the natural and acquired gifts of God, and also to the certainty of probation.

Particularly (1) as touching the soul ; a good conscience, love of virtue and devotion, a sedate and tractable mind, humility which shall enable the admitted to be content with whatever grade or duty shall be assigned him ; (2) as touching externals, of a *comely presence*,* health, youth, energy to sustain the labours of the society, and having or apparently likely to have, some talent for its service. Considering the end of our Institute it is not advisable to receive any with unmanageable tempers, however good for the individual.—More especially as regards the soul :—there should be in each, a sound doctrine, or capacity to learn it, discretion in business, or judgment to attain it : memory apt to retain those perceptions which the mind has already perceived. As to intention, that they be studious in all virtue, calm, stedfast, strenuous for God's service, burning with zeal for salvation of souls.

More particularly in externals ; possessing facility of language so needful in our intercourse with our neighbour : a *comely presence* for the edification of those with whom we have to deal : good health and strength to undergo the labours of our Institute : age to correspond with these essentials. As the external gifts of nobility, wealth and honour are not in themselves sufficient, so

* *Honesta specie.*

if there be a sufficiency of the others, these are not essential. So far as they tend to edification however, they render those more fit for admission who would be eligible without.

Impediments.

These are Primary and Secondary.

Primary.—To have separated from the Holy Church or denied the faith, or to have held erroneous doctrines: to have committed murder, or any erroneous crime: to have assumed the habit of any Order, or have become a hermit: to be bound by the bond of matrimony or legal indentures: to be afflicted with any disease of the head which might weaken the intellect. Any one of these excludes from the society.

Secondary.—Internally—ungovernable passions or desires, or a habit of sinning apparently incorrigible: a worldly motive for entering: unsteadiness of mind: indiscreet devotions, often a snare of the devil: want of learning or genius, or memory to acquire it: defect of judgment, or *remarkable pertinacity of opinion*, which is often the cause of much trouble to a society. Externally—defect, disease or deformity: age too tender or advanced: debt or civil contract. These, though taken singly, exclude not: still if many are combined in the same person, render him unfit for the service of God and the duties of the Order.

Of Admission.

Every candidate must pass through the House of First Probation; where, being treated as a guest, the Examiner shall report to the Superior his talents, opinions, and general qualifications or impediments. He shall then, if worthy, be subjected to the second period of probation for two years, unless he aspire to being a professed, when three are required. The vow of the professed is as follows:—"I make profession, and promise Almighty God, before His Virgin Mother and all the heavenly host, and before all by-standers, and you, Reverend Father, General of the Society of Jesus, holding the place of God, and your successors, perpetual poverty, chastity and obedience; and therein, *peculiar care in the education of boys*, according to the form of living contained in the Apostolic Letters of the Society of Jesus and its constitutions. Moreover, I promise special obedience to the Pope in missions, as is contained in the same." Having then received the Holy Communion, this vow, written and signed by the professed, shall be deposited in its appointed place.

Dismission.

This, like admission, can only be performed by the General and his delegates.

Causes.—(1) Vicious conduct or depraved affections: (2) general inability for the service of the Order: (3) defect of either mind or body, or an inability to conform to the obedience necessary: (4) discovery of any debt, liability or marriage contract.

Manner.—This is to be carefully considered both with regard to the conduct of him who dismisses; the feelings of him who is dismissed; and the impression to be made on those who witness his dismissal. The dismitter should in three ways be prepared: (1) by special prayer for the revelation of God's Will: (2) by careful consultation with the pious: (3) by divesting himself of all prejudice, either in favour of the person to be dismissed, or otherwise. Three things are to be regarded for the dismissed: (1) *external*, that he retire without disgrace or shame: (2) *internal*, that he shall part in charity with all: (3) prospective, that he shall be assisted by the Superior, through advice and prayer, to the leading a life of virtue. Three things are to be considered for the rest, within or without: (1) that no irritation be caused by such dismissal, and silence be observed concerning all reasons for it, not of a public nature: (2) that there be no animosity against the dismissed; that none despise, but rather pity and pray for him: (3) that pains be taken that all who are prone to behave less ardently than they should, be specially warned to profit by his example.

Of the state of the dismissed.—All authority derived from the society ceases when a member is dismissed. Such men are absolved from their vows and *need no further dispensation*. As regards those who have deserted the cause, little trouble need be taken, if, through lack of genius or obedience, they do not appear calculated to advance the glory of the society. Those, however, who, by sudden temptation or deception of others, have gone astray, may, if they shew true penitence after having been admonished and passed through the ordeal of confession and probation, be again admitted into the bosom of the Order.

Of advancing those in Probation.

As in the admission of those qualified by God's inestimable gifts to enter the Order, and as in the dismissal of those who have forfeited those precious advantages, due consideration and prudence were requisite; so, in the superintendence of those in probation, the same are much required.

As touching the soul.—Those under probation must not be allowed, by any intercourse with the profane, to grow lukewarm in their holy calling. They shall not leave the house at any time without the Superior's consent, or converse unrestrainedly in it. Let all guard the gates of their senses, that neither intemperance nor any other vice obtain an entrance; in all things paying that honour to God which beseems their holy calling.

As regards the body.—Let all who are in health have occupation and exercise; and, in refection, care must be taken that moderation and decorum be observed, internally and externally. The probationers should be taught the value of holy poverty, and never to consider anything as their own; and, although, during the time of probation, it is not necessary to surrender their property; still, if the Superior think that it is a temptation towards worldly affections, he may compel them so to do.

They should be warned to detect the presence of Satan in their devotions, and to guard against all temptations: daily should they resort to examination of conscience, and weekly receive Holy Communion: in every house let there be a confessor, who shall be instructed what cases to reserve for his superior: temptations are to be avoided by applying their opposites, as pride by employment on the more abject offices of the house: moreover, no woman shall enter house or college, and neither arms nor other instruments of vanity shall be allowed: let all take care to derive profit from disease, not allowing themselves to be morose or impatient, but in all things obedient to the physician, and accepting it as a chastisement from on high: it is especially necessary that all *yield themselves to perfect obedience, regarding the Superior as Christ the Lord*, without excuse or murmur, whatever his commands may be: let all love poverty as their mother.

Of the body.—As overmuch solicitude in those things which pertain to the body is reprehensible, so a moderate regard for the service of God is commendable; therefore, none are to burden themselves with too much bodily or mental labour. Castigation of the body, penance and fast should never be carried to excess.

Of the condition and education of those retained.

Within the colleges let no care of souls nor obligations to say mass, nor other services be allowed, *which are very apt to direct the inmates from their studies.* In those colleges which can maintain twelve scholars, besides preceptors, no alms should be received: but if the college be very poor, begging from door to door may be allowed.

Their Studies.—As the object of the society, in acquiring learning, is simply to benefit the souls of their lay neighbours, the acquisition of divers languages, logic, philosophy, natural and moral, metaphysics, theology and *the sacred Scriptures assist that office*. The scholars, in order to make the greater progress, should watch over the purity of their minds, aiming at nothing else than the divine glory and salvation of souls. A foundation should be laid on the Latin language sooner than the liberal arts, and in these before they attend to scholastic theology, and that before they attend to positive. *The sacred Scriptures may be taken in hand either before or afterwards*. As the over-earnestness of some in their studies should be repressed, so others ought to be stimulated; and if the rector of any college perceive that anyone wastes his time, he shall remove him.

Of the books which should be studied.—Those books only shall be read which are of orthodox tendency: in logics and metaphysics, Aristotle should be professed; in theology, the scholastic divinity of S. Thomas.

Terms and Degrees.—In humanity and literature the time cannot be determined: in arts and natural sciences, three years and six months: in theology, six years. Let every rector, remembering that, as the society instructs gratuitously, so it confers degrees gratuitously, take care not to permit any master or member to receive gift or money, remembering that “the Lord Christ alone is our reward,” according to our institute. No oaths or dissolute behaviour are allowed, and a corrector shall be appointed, *not of the Order*, who shall, by severe bodily castigation, keep those in order who are sufficiently young for this species of discipline.

Of Obedience and Poverty in those who are admitted into the Order of Professed Jesuits.

Since the vow of mental and corporeal chastity is plain enough to the senses of man, *obedience* is first touched on by the constitutions. God, the Creator, is the primary object, by whose divine assistance they are to be brought to pay perfect submission, first to the Pope, secondly, to the Superiors, as if their commands proceeded from Christ our Lord.

Poverty is to be loved and maintained in its purity as the firmest bulwark of religion. No houses are to receive any form of revenue: no teacher any kind of gift: there is to be no box in any church for alms; and the purity of poverty everywhere exhibited to the world.

In regard to dress, three things : (1) that it be becoming : (2) according to the customs of the country : (3) according to the vow of poverty.

Of those things from which the society should abstain, and in which it should be occupied.

Frequenting the Sacraments is greatly commended. Perpetual masses in church should not be practised. Let the society abstain from all secular affairs, as will-making and civil duties, and let their college business be managed by proctors. Also, that occasions of disturbance be avoided, and peace and good-will maintained by all. *No one, of any rank,* shall be examined in civil causes without the licence of his superior.

That the constitutions involve no obligation to commit sin.

“Although the society desires all its constitutions, declarations, and order of life to be observed according to our institute, in no way deviating in any particular; it desires nevertheless all its members to be secured, or at least assisted against falling into the snare of any sin which may originate from the force of its constitutions or injunctions: It seems good to us in the Lord that excepting the express vow by which the society is bound to the Pope for the time being, and the three other essential vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, no constitutions, declarations, or any order of living can involve an obligation to sin, mortal or venial; UNLESS THE SUPERIOR COMMAND THEM IN THE NAME OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, OR IN VIRTUE OF HOLY OBEDIENCE; WHICH SHALL BE DONE IN THOSE CASES OR PERSONS, WHEREIN IT SHALL BE JUDGED THAT IT WILL GREATLY CONDUCE TO THE PARTICULAR GOOD OF EACH, OR TO THE GENERAL ADVANTAGE; AND IN STEAD OF *THE FEAR OF OFFENCE LET THE LOVE AND DESIRE OF ALL PERFECTION SUCCEED: THAT THE GREATER GLORY AND PRAISE OF CHRIST OUR CREATOR AND LORD MAY FOLLOW.*

The General's Character and Qualification.

(1). He should be most *intimate and familiar with GOD and our Lord, as well in prayer as in all his actions.* (2) He should be of

* Nisi Superior ea in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, vel in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ juberet; quod in rebus, vel personis illis, in quibus judicabitur, quod ad particularem uniuscujusque, vel ad universale bonum multum conveniet, fieri poterit; et loco timoris offensæ succedat amor omnis perfectionis et desiderium: ut major gloria et laus Christi Creatoris, ac Domini nostri consequatur.

excellent virtue and conspicuous charity towards all men. (3) He should be free from all inordinate affections, and be able to serve as a model and mirror for both strangers and members of the society. (4) He must also possess severity and firmness of mind, although tempered with mildness and mercy, so as to be able to correct the erring and sympathize with the weak; to be superior to all the chances of fortune, and able to die, if needful, for the service of Christ our Lord. (5) He should excel in the bright endowments of intellect; and although learning is necessary for him who is to govern so many learned men, prudence is still more necessary. (6) Vigilance for the transaction of business. (7) In person, healthy, full of dignity and authority, and of constitution to discharge his duty to the glory of God and our Lord. (8) If he be of great character and a celebrated name, in short, every quality contributing to maintain authority over men's minds, he is to be respected. (9) Finally, illustrious in the grace of virtue, and long recognized in the society. And if any of the above gifts are wanting, at least let there be exemplary probity and affection for the society, and a sound judgment with useful learning: For in the rest much may be supplied by the grace of God and the members hereafter to be named.

The General's Assistants.

In every province he shall have a provincial acting for him. Also, for each province, an assistant residing with him to receive the reports of that province.

